SINGLE COPY - $7.50 ISSN 1055-145X

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. V, No. 2 Winter 1994-95

This Quarter's Theme:

THE Camp OF THE Saints Revisited

An Interview with Author Jean Raspail by Katharine Betts

A Review of *The Camp* by Denis McCormack

Comments from the Author's French Publisher

A Review of the Reviews by Wayne Lutton

Jean Raspail's Preface to the 1985 French Edition

A Contemporary *Camp* in a Television Film

PLUS
ESSAYS, OPINION PIECES, REVIEWS AND REPORTAGE ON:
population growth, language, assimilation, culture, and the environment.

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Just over two decades ago, concern over rapidly growing human population led to the development of the so-called "population movement" aimed at reducing the rate of population growth, both at home and abroad. At home, for a variety of reasons, birth rates fell sharply to sub-replacement levels. However, immigration grew steadily due, in significant measure, to the burgeoning population overseas. Today, human numbers world wide expand at about 10,000 per hour, a quarter of a million each day, 90 million a year.

The combined circumstances of low birth rates and high immigration pressures pose for all the developed countries the three most fundamental questions of immigration policy:

1. **How** many people should we admit, and **what factors** should be taken into account in setting this limit?
2. **Who** should be chosen to immigrate, and **what criteria** should be used for choosing?
3. **How** can we humanely enforce the rules we decide upon?

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT seeks to explore and illuminate these questions by publishing new material, and also by pulling together and reprinting existing works from many now-scattered sources. Our goal is to provide a periodical devoted to the interrelated topics of:

- **Human population** questions, including its absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. In nations with low natural increase and high immigration, the latter is a significant component of population growth. (In an ideal world, policy on immigrant numbers would derive from a national population policy.)
- **Immigration policy**, especially as it relates to the three basic policy questions mentioned above: how many, who, and how?
- **Language, assimilation, and national unity** considerations, which in large measure derive from and are driven by immigration and assimilation policies.
- **The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities** since, as with many issues today, population, immigration and language questions are often framed in terms of 'rights.' What is the proper balance of individual and community rights and interests?

Our method for approaching these connected issues is the time-honored concept of "The Social Contract." Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones: What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When 'rights' collide, which ones take precedence? The discipline of thinking through these issues in terms of a Social Contract allows one to achieve a balance: of individual and community interests; of the short and the long term; and of utopian idealism and the realities of the world in which we live.

But most importantly, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is not a detached forum for discussion in some backwater of life. Our issues are all in the forefront of public policy discussions in the United States, which is our primary focus. Our Editorial Advisors are drawn from many of the main organizations trying to influence the course of policy in the issue areas we have chosen. Our journal is one of the tools they use to raise questions, debate themes, and communicate ideas — to encourage vigorous public debate and subsequent changes in our laws and public policies.

We invite you to take part in this Great Debate by reading and contributing to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is published quarterly.
© 1995 by The Social Contract.

Editorial & Subscription offices at:
316 1/2 E. Mitchell Street, Petoskey, Michigan 49770
Phone (616) 347-1171, Fax (616) 347-1185

Third Class Postage is paid at Petoskey, MI.

Printed on Recycled Paper

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The Camp of the Saints Revisited — Editorial

The Social Contract Press, parent of ***THE SOCIAL CONTRACT*** journal, is honored to bring back into print Jean Raspail's *The Camp of the Saints*. We do so just as the immigration policy debate has risen to new heights in the United States—indeed, across the world. We began negotiating for the rights to publish this edition long before several recent seminal events helped focus attention on the wider issues involved.

The first was the passage in California of Proposition 187, a citizen's initiative calling for an end to most social services and welfare benefits, including schooling, for illegal aliens. Fought out in the context of California's gubernatorial and U.S. senate races, this was the first time in recent decades that immigration policy played a role in actually electing or defeating political candidates.

Then there was the remarkable use of *The Camp of the Saints* in the cover article of the December 1994 issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*, "Must It Be the Rest Against the West?" by historians Matthew Connelly and Paul Kennedy. *The Atlantic Monthly* has the record for the longest continuous publication of any magazine in the United States, and is arguably one of the most prestigious. This article has done much to renew interest in Raspail's book and legitimize the consideration of its thesis; fortuitously, this article appeared just as the book was going to press.

The recent arrival on our shores of boatloads of people whose stories and conditions evoke Raspail's theme has taken it out of a theorist's realm and transposed it into real life. As I write, boats are landing on Australia's northern coast and there are reports of another 5,000 people on the high seas, headed South. The future has arrived, as indicated by the photo chosen for the cover of this edition: the *Golden Venture* beached off of Queens, New York, its human cargo standing on our shores swaddled in blankets.

The Camp of the Saints has been a controversial book in the United States since Norman Shapiro's translation was first released in 1975 by the respected publishing house of Charles Scribner's Sons. The novel alternately has been praised as a clear minded view of the future or, contrarily, vilified as "racist." Individuals have even been attacked for merely being familiar with it. We trust that with the publication of the *Atlantic* article this stage has passed.

* * *

A word is warranted about the role of a novel in the immigration debate. We humans do not seem to like our truths unvarnished. Rather than "just the facts," we commonly prefer to have them dressed up in the memorable forms of plays, poems, allegories, metaphors, fables, parables, proverbs, tragedies and satires. The poet, the playwright, the novelist, the filmmaker can present truths and open our eyes in ways that demographic analyses, comparative income studies, or social welfare statistics never can. The storytellers can advance notions prohibited to others.

Over the years the American public has absorbed a great number of books, articles, poems and films which exalt the immigrant experience. It is easy for the feelings evoked by Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty to obscure the fact that we are currently receiving too many immigrants (and receiving them too fast) for the health of our environment and of our common culture. Raspail evokes different feelings and that may help to pave the way for policy changes. *The Camp of the Saints* takes the world population explosion and the immigration debate in a new direction. Indeed, it may become the *1984* of the twenty-first century.

We are indebted to Jean Raspail for his insights into the human condition, and for being 20 years ahead of his time. History will judge him more kindly than have some of his contemporaries.

To support the reissuance of *The Camp of the Saints* we adopt its title as the theme for this issue of **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT**. Articles include a review of the book by our Australian correspondent, Denis McCormack; a report on an interview with Raspail by our editorial advisory board member Katharine Betts, conducted while she was on sabbatical in France; a translation of a flier put out by Raspail's publisher which gives some insight into the man; a compilation by associate editor Wayne Lutton of previous reviews; a reprint of Raspail's preface to the third (1985) French edition (previously printed in **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT**, Vol.IV, No.2, Winter 1993-94); and then articles and data on the immigration-induced racial and ethnic transformation of the U.S. that is underway. All this could keep you awake at night.

Combined with our other reports and reviews we believe you will find this issue well worth an evening.

John Tanton, Editor and Publisher

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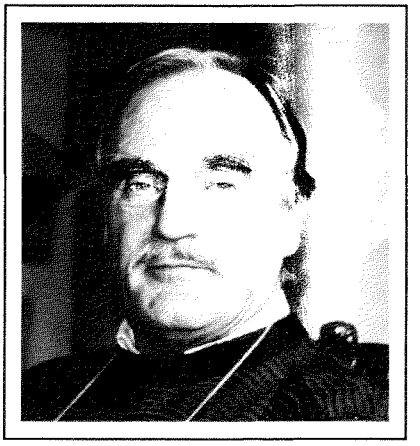
Katharine Betts is a senior lecturer in sociology at the Swinburne University of Technology in Melbourne, Australia. She is co-editor of the Australian quarterly, People and Place, *which focuses chiefly on immigration policy questions. Excerpts from her book* Ideology and Immigration: Australia 1976 to 1987 *were published in* The Social Contract, *Vol. I, No. 4, Summer 1991, pages 163-175. The book is available through the offices of The Social Contract Press.*

An Interview With Jean Raspail

By Katharine Betts

Synopsis of *The Camp of the Saints*

First, we must go back twenty years. It is 1973. For some years now the West has lost all sense of belief in itself and, because of this, has lost the will to defend itself. Such a clever and inventive civilization, this Western culture, but the things it creates are ugly. They destroy the self-respect of those who make them and of those who buy them. And the ideas it produces are worse. The biggest idea that this West of 1973 has produced is "the beast," the idea of "world conscience." This beast is made of two parts, one of guilt and one of anti-racism. The guilt portrays Third World poverty as a consequence of Western greed, while the anti-racism condemns any attempt by the guilt-ridden to protect themselves against the Third World retribution that is to come.



The ugly material goods, the objects that corrupt their makers and consumers, are produced by capitalists. But the ideas come from the critics of capitalism, from left-wing activists and journalists, and from churchmen. And here is a nice paradox: the left dominate the media, but the right have to tolerate them because, without the audiences that left-wing broadcasters attract, the capitalists would have no means of selling their tawdry goods. In France, in particular, a proud tradition has deteriorated. A limping, ramshackle culture, full of self-interested cant, shot through with veins of self-hatred, is to be tested. A mere hundred unseaworthy boats will bring a million uninvited immigrants from the other side of the earth, and France will be found wanting. It will fail the test and all of the West will fail with it.

Over the course of 50 days the armada from the Ganges creeps nearer to the coast of the Midi. The media rejoice, while politicians and the armed forces fumble for a policy. Leaders in each European country agonize over their nation's culpability, and offer sympathy and praise for the voyagers in public. In private, they hope desperately that the ships will land on someone else's shores. But fate is bringing them to France.

Albert Dufort, the trendy radio journalist, knows that when the armada arrives the people it brings will set off a chain of events that will destroy modern France. But he believes that this destruction will mean the rebirth of man. We in the West are to blame for the injustices poor countries suffer. We condemned our Third World brothers by setting up walls to keep them at a distance. Now they have broken out of their prison and they are coming, seeking justice.

For Dufort, the journey of the armada symbolizes the international redistribution of wealth. He is transported by the imagery, by the symbolism of the events that he reports. With growing excitement, he coins the slogan: "We're all from the Ganges now." School children write essays eulogizing the armada's approach. Any doubts that serious men and women may have about redemption by invasion are washed away in a flood of emotion and self-flagellating rhetoric.

In the last days before the ships lurch through the Straits of Gibraltar to the coast, the French begin to panic. At the eleventh hour, the President orders the military to defend the country, but it is too late. Most of the men desert. The inhabitants of the south flee north, police abandon their posts, jails are opened,

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prisoners rampage. Dufort flees in his car to Switzerland and is murdered *en route* in a random act of violence. At the same time student revolutionaries journey south to meet their foreign brothers. They do not know that the people from the Ganges are not coming as brothers. The immigrant invaders hate the West, the civilization that has robbed them of the earthly paradise that should be theirs. Rather than rejecting the small welcoming committee of students, they scarcely see them. They surge through the students, and over them, spreading out over a countryside that seems, to them, to be empty of people.

But this is not just the story of the sea-trek of one million in search of a promised land. In all the poor, desperately over-populated countries around the world, hungry souls are poised to follow. They are monitoring the fortunes of the armada closely. When France puts up only a token, last minute resistance, and the people of the Ganges swarm over the Midi, the others move, too. The beast has done its work and the Third World, full of a sense of injury and entitlement, takes over the First. After 1973, we are indeed "all from the Ganges now."

Who Is Jean Raspail?

The Camp of the Saints is a terrifying book. It holds the reader tightly, even while blood, filth and violence spill from its pages. Few would read it for pleasure. But is it prophecy? Some parts bear the stamp of 1968, the student revolt in Paris, and the particular left-wing enthusiasms of the period. But, twenty years on, the "beast" still speaks with a disconcertingly contemporary voice. The same agonies of guilt, and the same uncertainties about the right of nations to maintain their borders distort immigration debates today, even as they did in this unhappy, fictitious world.

Who wrote this book and why? My husband Gavin and I went to visit the author, M. Jean Raspail, in Paris in October of 1993. We wanted to ask him about his novel and to inquire, on behalf of *The Social Contract Press*, whether he would agree to a new edition of Norman Shapiro's English translation.

M. Raspail has a large ground-floor apartment in a modern building in a quiet and exclusive inner suburb of Paris. There is a glass case full of model soldiers in the lobby. The study is long and narrow, looking out onto a green and private garden, something quite exceptional for this crowded city.

The French *Who's Who* lists M. Raspail as a traveler and explorer, as well as a writer. There are books in the study, of course, but also many engravings of Native Americans. In 1950-52, he led the Tierra del Fuego-Alaska car trek, and in 1954, the French research expedition to the land of the Incas. Possibly the engravings date from this period, and from his association with Patagonia. (In 1981 his novel, *Moi, Antoine de Tounens, roi de Patagonie*, won the *Grand Prix de Roman* from the Academie Francaise — the major prize for novels in France.) There is a large model battleship on the floor of the study. The original art work for the cover of the first edition of *The Camp of the Saints* stands on a side table; it shows a motley collection of boats which have come to rest in the shallows, while strong, brown-skinned men stride ashore across the beach.

M. Raspail is a tall man of soldierly bearing. He is a traditionalist. While he is courtesy and gentleness itself in his manner towards us, he dislikes the incursions that Anglo-Americanisms have made into the French culture. Though he once knew some English, he no longer wishes to use it. Gavin and I make do with our limited French.

"M. Raspail is a tall man of soldierly bearing. He is a traditionalist. While he is courtesy and gentleness itself in his manner toward us, he dislikes the incursions that Anglo-Americanisms have made into the French culture."

Our first question is the obvious one: Do you think that the vision portrayed in your book is coming true? The answer: Haven't you seen the preface to the third (1985) French edition of the book? No, indeed we hadn't.

We should read it. This preface explains that the book is symbolic, a parable.[2] History is speeded up to happen over the course of days rather than a couple of decades or a generation. In real life things don't come about so quickly, but the principle remains the same. The Third World invasion of the West is

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unavoidable. If we don't see it, our children will.

How did people react when the book first came out? M. Raspail said that the response was very different in the United States compared to France. He wasn't very well known in France in 1973 and the immediate reaction to the book was silence. It only began to sell six or eight months after it first appeared. It sold by word of mouth. Some people bought large numbers of copies — 100 to 150 at a time. In contrast, in the U.S. there was a strong reaction in the press immediately, some against, many for. He still receives many letters from the States.

We mentioned Gary Freeman's recent article on comparative immigration policy, and his comment that more and more analysts were taking *The Camp of the Saints* seriously.[3] Did he think that this was happening? It was possible. But he then went on to talk a little about how he had come to write the book. It was an idea that came to him then — he couldn't write the same book today. It requires nerve to do such a thing. (In the 1985 preface M. Raspail talks about how the book took 18 months to write, and of how it consumed and aged him.)

We knew of Shapiro's English translation but we asked him about others. It has now been translated into every major European language, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Italian, Dutch and so on. In France, it is constantly in print.

"He went on to talk a little about how he had come to write the book. It was an idea that came to him then — he couldn't write the same book today."

Why was it that he had portrayed the conflict in the book in terms of race, brown and black against white, rather than in terms of conflict between groups marked out by different cultures? M. Raspail replied that this was a big question. He said that it is race that gives culture its mark in the beginning. Yes, different races can indeed assimilate to different cultures. He reminded us of the book's M. Hamadura, the black ex-deputy of Pondicherry, the one who joins the small band of stalwarts who hold out for a few weeks defending one last little corner of Provence. Hamadura says that being white isn't really a question of color. It's a whole mental outlook, a state of mind. But, Raspail said, later the racial distinctions can come back.

It had struck me that the book was every bit as much about his disgust with French society as it was about the Third World population explosion. So we asked him if the events of May 1968 in France, the student uprising, the wave of strikes, had had much influence on him. Yes, they had. When he was writing the book he had been full of a sense of the degeneration of his society and of its lack of intelligence.

We asked him about his vision of the West, this West that had lost all confidence in itself as a worthwhile civilization. Where did he think this mentality ("the beast") had come from? He said this was a difficult question. It was a collection of things; one couldn't really say. In one sense the West is more than ever triumphant, but it has a conception of the rights of man. In its original form this was an excellent idea, but it has now been misapplied and it is being used against France, the very country that had first conceived it.

We also asked him about his opinion of recent actions that the French government had taken to try to tighten the rules governing entry for family reunion and for people seeking political asylum. Did he think that these measures would amount to anything? No. It is impossible to do anything. It's too late. There have been mass movements of people already and there are now too many to send back. "These steps that Balladur (the Prime Minister) and Pasqua (Minister for the Interior) are taking are just to appease the electorate. They won't make any difference."

How did he see the future of the West? "*Je n'en sais rien.*" (Literally, "I know nothing about it," but "I have no idea" is probably a better translation.)

Further Reflections

After we left we went straight to the bookshop M. Raspail had recommended in order to seek out the 1985 edition. It was now 11:30 in the morning. The shop was small and intimate, set in a back street. It was presided over by two men who reminded me of the novel's M. Machefer, the elderly and eccentric proprietor of the newspaper, *La Pensée Nationale*, and one of his acolytes. (Machefer is one of the few to

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warn of the dangers the armada presents. A few youths, young conservatives who share his views, help with the paper. But their voice is small and easily suppressed.)

True to form, both were smoking cigars, and empty champagne flutes stood on the counter beside them. *Le Camp des Saints*? Yes, of course they had it. A wonderful book — a true masterpiece. We also bought M. Raspail's most recent novel, *Sept Cavaliers*. This included a brochure about the author, describing his aristocratic and traditional vision. [See Laura Tanton's translation of this flier on page 91.] It quotes his words, "*C'est toujours l'âme qui gagne les combats décisifs*—It's always the soul that wins the decisive battles." Readers of *The Camp* will recall the passage where the armada is headed off from entering the Red Sea by a tough Egyptian admiral. The Egyptian's stance is closer to the firm resolve of the Ganges' immigrant invaders than it is to that of France. Raspail comments, "Two opposing camps. One still believes. One doesn't. The one that still has faith will move mountains. That's the side that will win. Deadly doubt has destroyed all incentive in the other. That's the side that will lose."[4]

Is M. Raspail's novel a prophecy fulfilled, complete with an explanation for why the disaster happened and why it is now too late? Are we losing our heritage because we have lost faith in our civilization, and is the story now well on the way to its dénouement? Freeman's work is a careful analysis of the increasingly firm response of immigrant-receiving nations in the face of growing pressure for entry. It suggests that we are looking at a conditional prediction in this novel rather than a certain prophecy. If nations behave in the vacillating and foolish manner described in *The Camp of the Saints*, then the serious situation that North America, Europe and Australia now confront will indeed worsen, and the outcome will surely not maximize human happiness, either for hosts or immigrants. But, if sensible and well-coordinated policies are adopted, M. Raspail's grand epic can be read as one picture of a possible future, a future that we may have the wit to see and the courage to avert. ■

NOTES

[1] Paris, September 1993.

[2] See J. Raspail, "The author's comment on *The Camp of the Saints*, (translated by G. Bikales), *The Social Contract*, Vol, 4, No. 2, 1993-4, pp. 115-117; also on p.99 of this issue..

[3] G. Freeman, "Migration policy and politics in the receiving states," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 26, No. 4, 1992, pp. 1144-1167

[4] *The Camp of the Saints,* p. 130 in the 1977 *Sphere Books* paperback.

The Roots of Policy

Policy is formed by preconceptions and by long implanted biases. When information is relayed to policy makers, they respond in terms of what is already inside their heads and consequently make policy less to fit the facts than to fit the baggage that has accumulated since childhood.

— Barbara Tuchman in *Practicing History*, p.289

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Denis McCormack is Australian correspondent for **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT**. *He is one of the principal immigration reform activists in his country.*

Warnings of Weakness and White Western Suicide

A Book Review by Denis McCormack

For "the West"— that Eurocentric euphemism employed to describe nations where whites dominate numerically, culturally, and politically — *The Camp of the Saints* (the title is taken from the Bible, Revelation 20:9) presents the ultimate psycho-racial nightmare, "...the world reborn. The eve of a Revolution. This time to wipe out not class, but race."

Holed up in Switzerland — the last bastion to finally yield to Third World inundation — a French historian seeks to balance the post-apocalypse "New History." He explores the origins of the long-coming and recently-committed suicide of Western Civilization.

THE CAMP OF THE SAINTS
by Jean Raspail
Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1973
Petoskey, MI: The Social Contract Press, 1995
paperback, 311 pages, $9.95

The precipitating event was the arrival on the Côte d'Azur of a dilapidated armada from Calcutta, which carried about a million boat people. Their precarious but successful voyage inspired imitation by other poor and over-populated countries — a migration to all the "wealthy" and Western nations. France was in the front line. All Western governments, though riddled with the same angst and theoretically capable of thwarting the invasions, looked to France to set an example by repulsing the first arrivals. France failed. The rest of the West capitulated in turn. Paying *Danegeld* or foreign aid was no longer an option as the stakes had so dramatically increased.

Demographics alone did not foreordain the outcome. For too long, institutionalized political irresolution had allowed the socio-cultural agenda to be formed and promulgated by the left-leaning, bleeding heart "liberal" internationalists. For them, international redistributive justice, immigration, multilingualism, multiculturalism, multiracialism, and all the socially divisive splinter issues these movements engender, were the ideological weaponry in their politically correct struggle to exchange equality for freedom, all in an increasingly crowded, homogenized world.

By triangulation of various details in the story, such as the ages and reminiscences of some of its characters, the timing of the main events can be placed at around about now — that is, the 1990s! Given that this novel was first published in 1973, Raspail's original preface, along with recent headlines, should give us food for thought:

> *I had wanted to write a lengthy preface to explain my position and show that this is no wild-eyed dream; that even if the specific action, symbolic as it may seem far-fetched, the fact remains that we are inevitably heading for something of the sort. We need only glance at the awesome population figures predicted for the year 2000, i.e, 28 years from now: 7 billion people, only 900 million of whom will be white.*
>
> *But what good would it do?*
>
> *I should at least point out, though, that many of the texts I have put into my characters' mouths or pens — editorials, speeches, pastoral letters, laws, news stories, statements of every description — are, in fact, authentic. Perhaps the reader will spot them as they go by. In terms of the fictional situation I have presented, they become all the more revealing.*

Through masterful use of time-lapse narration, Raspail's historian takes us backward and forward to help us understand the broader historical backdrop to

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the modern West's failure in the face of its greatest challenge. Using the same devices, we are briefed on the past, updated on the present, and informed about the future of many a character whose actions and motivations are independent of one another, but which are all integral to the story as it unfolds. Suffice it to say that a lesser writer could not hope to explain across time and distance such an intricacy and synchronicity of events, both large and small, without unduly belaboring or confusing the reader.

The style is important because Raspail has managed to do what no academic or scholar anywhere in the field of immigration reform can hope to achieve with statistics, bar graphs, and policy analyses. Based on the worst-case scenario, he has written a skillful and gripping novel for Western people, showing their own likely demographic and cultural demise — within their own lifetime. Its theme accords with the everyday experience of Mr. and Mrs. John Q. Citizen as they live Act One on the streets and at work; as they read the papers, listen to the radio, shop at the mall, watch TV, attend the PTA meeting, travel on the subway; as they see it on billboards, in the park, at the movies — both domestically or internationally. For ordinary folk this book strikes home with the idea that extinction is for keeps, that it can reach the suburbs, and that the formulation of government policy is everyone's business. It puts the rights and wrongs of the past where they belong: in focus, in perspective, but at the margin when compared to the urgency of survival.

Raspail's fictional historian is close to events. From the outset his narration is one of resignation — not only to the loss of the struggle, but to the deracination of his tribe. Hence the vitriolic satire and the gloves-off handling of several highly taboo topics. While admitting that there were clearly conspiring forces that considered it in their common interest to anesthetize public opinion before it could organize resistance to the impending doom, he does not descend into the labyrinth to chase the "illuminati" or "international financiers." Rather, the posturings of the churches, the media, big business, the anti-racism industry, unions, the United Nations, and various do-gooders and promoters of international brotherhood — in combination with the apathy of Mr. and Mrs. Sloth Consumer — all converge to produce the result.

The Camp of the Saints is not a book for weak stomachs. The earthy descriptions of mass squalor, bodily functions, and sexual behavior — all magnified by crowded conditions — approach the nauseating. Those who have lived in the poorest, most over-populated parts of the Third World will be reminded of some aspects of life there. As the back cover blurb on an earlier edition suggests, "... so powerful is its impact that once you have read it you will need brain surgery to forget it." On the other hand, anyone who has seen the pictures of Vietnamese, Haitians, Albanians or Chinese piled onto boats for trips to the West will wonder at Raspail's prescience.

"...Raspail has managed to do what no other academic or scholar anywhere in the field of immigration reform can hope to achieve with statistics, bar graphs and policy analyses."

The Camp of the Saints could be viewed as unmitigated white racism, or the case for cultural and racial diversity-with-separateness in the interests of all, or as a less than calm disquisition on population displacement theory. That said, there is no other book which so instinctively bonds the respectable commentators, academics, and activists in common cause with the others who work in different ways with differing emphases toward essentially the same goals of limiting immigration.

Raspail is not a racial supremacist, though like most, he probably would acknowledge the importance of race in the conduct of human affairs. I imagine his frank rejection of a universalist multicultural and multiracial future as a pleasing or necessary prospect would find sympathy with the overwhelming majority of his tribe, should those who treasure such a vision ever be so bold as to seek endorsement of that vision. One can sympathize with those of any group who feel they have been wronged by the loss of their cultural, ethnic, or racial roots, due to whatever historical circumstance. Such sentiments are a far cry, however, from being conned into giving up one's own:

> *Man never has really loved humanity all of a piece — all its races, its peoples, its religions — but only those creatures he feels are his kin, a part of his clan, no matter how vast. As far*

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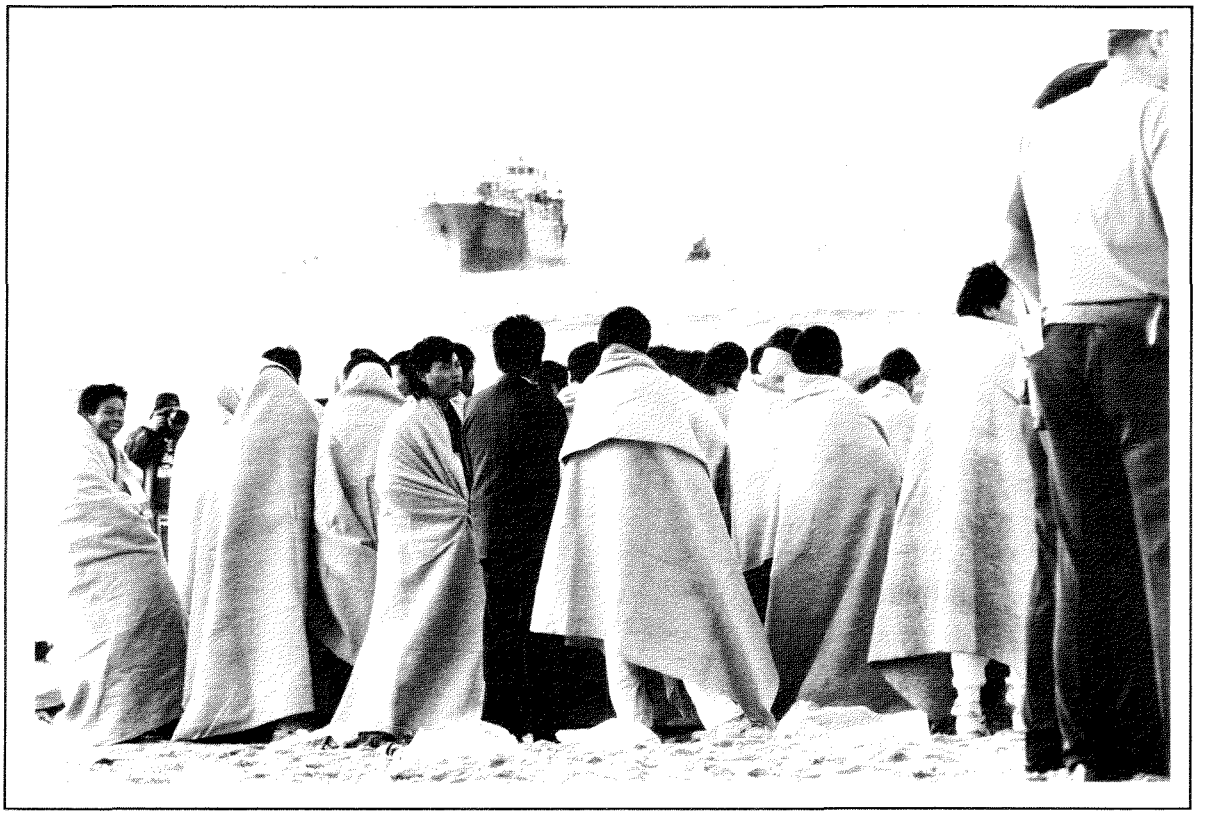
as the rest are concerned, he forces himself, and lets the world force him. And then when he does, when the damage is done, he himself falls apart.

In 1990, the British made a TV film called *The March*. They used Raspail's story line, changing the boat people from the Ganges into marchers from southern Sudan. Instead of the south of France, the peaceful invasion landed in smaller craft on the beach in the south of Spain after leaving Morocco. Completely reversing Raspail's intent, words very close to his text were mouthed by hand-wringing European Community bureaucrats searching for negotiated solutions. "Forgive us! Europe is not yet ready for you. Please give us more time!" It ended in an ambiguous, unconvincing, and guilt-ridden standoff in southern Spain. But after all, it was made for TV by the BBC in conjunction with (according to the credits given at the end) the "One World Group of Public Broadcasters"!

Many of Raspail's other works have been influential cultural critiques and have pointed toward *The Camp of the Saints*. He has been awarded the Prix Academie Francais. More of his works should be translated. But do read this one, and good luck with the brain surgery. ■



The Golden Venture aground at Queens, New York in June 1993.

Photo by Paul DeMaria courtesy New York Times Pictures.
Used on the cover of the current American edition of *The Camp of the Saints.*
(See an advertisement for the book inside the back cover of this journal.)

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This is a translation from the French of a flier about Jean Raspail, author of The Camp of the Saints. *It was printed by Raspail's publishers, Editions Robert Laffont of Paris, in connection with his most recent novel,* Seven Horsemen. *The translation is by Laura Tanton, a school teacher, linguist and translator based in Elizabeth City, North Carolina.*

The Traditionalism of Jean Raspail

It is always the soul
that wins the decisive battles.

"In 1951, during a trip to Tierra del Fuego, in crossing the Strait of Magellan, I found, in the space of an hour, under the snow, in the wind, one of the last boats of the Alakalufs. I will never forget it."

This vision — these survivors of a people forgotten by God in an inhuman climate — would never leave Jean Raspail. His books are haunted by it, and it is at the heart of the Patagonian myth created by Raspail, made so real that it almost lives. It also sparked his romantic imaginings.

He was 25 then, living the adventure of his first book of travels: *Tierra del Fuego to Alaska*. In it he explores the two poles of the American continent — seeing and experiencing the greatness between them.

Jean Raspail favors naked, rocky, limitless landscapes. These are the writer's landscapes, populated and animated by the imagination's whim which brings meaning to the unfolding story. They are internal landscapes, seen only by the author and the characters he projects onto these empty spaces.

For always — or almost always — the characters in Jean Raspail's novels disappear. If they don't disappear, they dream, which is the same thing. Whether they flee (voluntarily), are chased and pursued, or are given an order or mission, they leave. And space opens up in front of them, absorbs them, like the time of which they lose track. They are not hopeless — or perhaps they are beyond hopelessness ... so much so that they no longer hope for anything. It may come to pass that at the end of a long voyage a door will open, the characters pass through it, exhausted but serene, having accomplished their mission and met their destiny. It is a matter between them and God, whether or not they are believers. The essential matter is to venture forth, to undertake the search. And what is one looking for?

One gets the impression that the characters are not alone and abandoned during their protracted wanderings. One would say that someone watches over them as they discover trails and road signs. These are not easy to interpret, just small pebbles which permit progress bit by bit. Someone has certainly laid them on their path, someone never named but always present, though sometimes inattentive. Then one realizes that their march is a conquest, and the men are actually knights.

There is something of a medieval verse chronicled in this work. Better yet: an echo of the legend of King Arthur.

The *Seven Horsemen* — after *The King's Game*, after *Septentrion*, after *Who Remembers Man* — appeared suddenly, in this light, as the richest expression to date of Jean Raspail's work.

"Jean Raspail makes it understood that he does not share the 'values' of the modern world."

They are seven — imagine! — that leave the city at dusk, facing the setting sun, through the Western Gate which is no longer guarded. The only men still able to carry arms in a kingdom devastated by the worst imaginable calamities. They have received an order from their sovereign, the hereditary margrave, to go see what remains of life in these domains which flourished not long ago. "They didn't flee, and betrayed nothing, hoped for less still, and did not allow themselves to dream." They obey; they are soldiers.

They are young. Colonel-Major Count Silve de Pikkendorf, who commands them, is 35 years old; so is Osmond Van Beck, the coadjutor-bishop (there must be a man of God in the troop); the three other petty officers are between 16 and 20 years of age; only Vassili the corporal and Abai the stable-keeper

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are older. (They're young as the heros of Jean Raspail's novels often are: the little boy in *The King's Game*, the boy and girl in *The Blue Island* and in *Sire*). With these seven horsemen he represents that which anyone steeped in history and tradition would consider the ideal society, according to the three orders: the nobility, the clergy and the third estate. But, as in all harmonious societies, they are fundamentally equal.

This aristocratic view of the world is the signature of the works of Raspail — it is readily evident in *Sire*. It is the sought-after dream of a society of upright citizens driven by noble sentiments: honor, and loyalty to the chosen cause — with the opposite as well: arrogance, pride, contempt. These are contrasted further with the virtues of self-respect, gallantry and courage. Thus Jean Raspail makes it understood that he does not share the "values" of the modern world. He finds refuge in his imaginary worlds, in his timeless stories which, however — because nothing is simple — speak of today. "Never," he said, "will I write a historical novel about the Templars of the 12th century; but about the Templars of today, yes." And so it is that the conjured-up calamities that led the kingdom of the *Seven Horsemen* to ruin is a transposition of actual evils: epidemics, violence, drugs. In addition to these evils are "the others," the Chechens that prowl about at the borders and infiltrate — reminiscent of *Camp of the Saints*, and the infernal vision portrayed in the last pages of that book.

A stack of books does not necessarily constitute a great work. The ten books that Jean Raspail created from 20 years of writing, these constitute a great work: because an ambition and great expectation live within them, and because they were born of great spirit and vision. ■

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Associate editor Wayne Lutton discusses how The Camp of the Saints *was received by reviewers when it first appeared in the United States in 1975, and illustrates this with excerpts from some of the many reviews that were published.*

The Emergence of a "Classic"

By Wayne Lutton

> "Forget *Jaws* and *The Towering Inferno.*
> This is the ultimate disaster novel."
>
> —from an ad in the *New York Times*
> August 19, 1975

The Camp of the Saints first appeared in France in 1973. It soon became a best-seller and foreign rights were sold. By November 1973, the Trade Division of the respected New York firm of Charles Scribner's Sons contracted to publish an English-language edition. Scribner's secured the services of Norman Shapiro of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, to translate the novel. *The Camp* was released in this country in the late Summer of 1975.

The book was immediately attacked by the guardians of liberal opinion. Paul Gray fired one of the first salvoes in the August 4, 1975 issue of *Time* magazine. Under the title of "Poor White Trash," Gray dismissed it as a "harangue" and a "bilious tirade" that read as if it had "come off a mimeograph machine in some dank cellar." He accused Raspail, and by clear implication his American publisher, of "exacerbating" racial enmity.

The editors of *The New York Times* found the book so offensive that they published two attacks on it, the first in their issue for Wednesday, August 13, 1975 where Richard Lingeman fumed that "reading Jean Raspail's novel *The Camp of the Saints* is like being trapped at a cocktail party with a normal-looking fellow who suddenly starts a perfervid racist diatribe." As far as Mr. Lingeman was concerned, "on the subject of race [Raspail] apparently becomes a bit loony." Dubbing him "the white man's Franz Fanon," Lingeman dismissed his assumptions as "preposterous" and the story as "grotesquely orchestrated." The novel is "bilge," he warned.

After this panning by America's "newspaper of record" failed to kill sales of the book, the Sunday *New York Times Book Review* launched a second attack on October 5, 1975. If readers and other book reviewers who take their "cue" from the editors of *The Times* didn't get the message the first time, Thomas Lask repeated the charge that the story line was "preposterous." Granting that "we may need the message," Lask chided the author for engaging in "windy rhetoric." *The Camp*'s "moral is overwhelmed by its flaws as a work of art: the narrative is sluggish, the symbolism banal, the scolding tone an affront to the readers."

The New York Times "line" was parroted by other reviewers, especially on the East Coast. Representative of these was the review written by short-story writer and critic Silvia Tennenbaum for *Long Island Newsday* of September 10, 1975. Ms. Tennenbaum called it a "Fascist fantasy...a disgusting book" purveying a theme that was "hideously corrupt." "Fascist rhetoric" marred what she emphasized was "the crudest kind of propaganda, the kind that works on our deepest fears and exploits our hidden disaffections. It is, as I said in the beginning of this review, a truly disgusting book."

To Bruce Allen, in *The Providence Journal*, September 28, 1975, *The Camp* was "a jerrybuilt nightmare," a "diatribe," and a "psychotic fantasy." Moreover, the story was "foolishly conceived" and "blindly over-written." Finally, his Rhode Island readers were advised that Raspail's novel was simply "a dull and stupid book." So there was certainly no need to go out and purchase a copy.

Further afield, one Virgil Miller Newton Jr., writing for the *Tampa Tribune* of September 5, 1975, complained that his editor had forced him to review what amounted to "a flood of bilious exacerbation from France."

Conceding that Raspail was an award-winning author in France, the Florida critic noted that his work "hasn't raised a ripple in the more realistic American literary world." Newton the Younger came up with a new literary twist of the knife: he attributed much of Raspail's "vitriol" to the "fact" that Frenchmen

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were haunted by an apparently congenital inferiority complex."Today France is nothing more than a second-rate country and not a very good one in our industrial age. This, of course, has left the modern Frenchman in quite a quandary." As a consequence, Newton declared, Raspail was simply exhibiting the French sense of frustration when he created a scenario for the end of Western civilization.

Not to worry. From the comfort and relative security of Tampa Bay, Mr. Newton opined that "of course the world faces a great problem in feeding the population explosion during the next 25 years. But I personally don't think we're going to face a racial apocalypse....The brains who gave the world television, nuclear energy, the computer, and put a man on the moon can solve this problem, and without French leadership, too."

To the dismay of the Smart Set, *The Camp of the Saints* did not die a quick death and expire on the remainder tables. James J. Kilpatrick highlighted the novel in both his widely syndicated newspaper column and in the pages of *Nation's Business*. Dartmouth English Professor Jeffrey Hart praised it in *National Review*. In addition, smaller-market newspapers and journals across the country praised the novel and encouraged their readers to buy it. Thanks to the efforts of independent-minded editors and reviewers, word of *The Camp*'s existence spread, and the book became a success.

No small part of *The Camp*'s initial success in the American market, and its enduring readability, was due to the English-language edition prepared by Professor Shapiro. The task of translating any work of literature is not an easy one, especially where the author makes allusions to places, people, and events that are not necessarily familiar to even educated foreign readers, as was true in several instances in Raspail's novel. Quite aside from its "message," the Shapiro translation of *The Camp of the Saints* remains a work of genuine literary merit.

Further, Professor Shapiro took to answering some of the most outrageous attacks on the book. For example, in response to Silvia Tennenbaum's review in *Newsday*, Dr. Shapiro observed that "it shouldn't take much literary acumen to realize that it was *intended* to shake up the complacent ostrich mentality to an awareness of the major problem of our time: overpopulation...." Elsewhere he pointed out that *The Camp of the Saints* is not "a propagandistic, racist tract, but an intentionally graphic warning of what may well happen to our world if we ignore the real villain of the piece: overpopulation."

Unfortunately, anyone consulting *Book Review Digest* or other literary indexes will not be apprised of the fact that *The Camp* received such wide acclaim in the United States, especially in smaller publications. We are pleased to be able to offer excerpts from a number of the favorable reviews:

John Barkham
Syndicated Book Reviewer
July 23, 1975

This book is a French entry in the fiction disaster stakes, and, as you might expect, it is more logical and less imminent than its American counterparts. But its scale is apocalyptic and its implications awesome. It leaves flaming skyscrapers, sinking liners, and even earthquakes as simple local problems. How can you top the racial clash of civilizations postulated in this vivid French-novel?

To call it terrifying would be an exaggeration, but that is likely to be the impression it leaves on more thoughtful readers, for what Jean Raspail pictures is a global Golgotha...His novel is predicated on the supposition that the population time-bomb ticking away in India and elsewhere in the Third World will reach explosive force around the beginning of the next century. Then, according to present projection, the human population of the planet will have reached seven billion, less than a tenth of whom will be white.

It is not a pleasant situation to contemplate. Raspail has done more than contemplate it: He has painted a fictional but depressingly convincing picture of the human catastrophe which conceivably would occur. The eruption is triggered by Belgium, which, as an act of benevolence, adopts some 40,000 starving Indians from the gutters of Calcutta. For them, life in Belgium's white society is the purest nirvana. Like wildfire the word spreads through India. Thousands, hundreds of thousands of Indian mendicants ask, demand to be "adopted" by Europeans.

But no European country wants to be overwhelmed by blacks, browns, and yellow people. The Third World comes anyway in an armada of ancient ships. Europe braces for invasion by almost a million starving, desperate people. France is the center of the crisis. What will the French do?

New York, Paris, Rome, London and other capitals become armed fortresses. The Third World has discovered that the white race is rich, and to be rich is better than to be poor. What began as an essay in Christian charity by the

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Belgians has turned into a race war with whites about to be engulfed by swarms of nonwhites. Raspail's imagination is totally unfettered....

No wonder this novel has created such a deep impression in Europe. It sounds a startling tocsin, and whether you accept Raspail's nightmare or not, his premises are sound. Nature has a way of dealing with overpopulation by any species, and if it doesn't happen to the human race as blueprinted here, it could happen some other way. This is a story to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest, especially by those under 40.

Book Browsing
The Charlotte Observer
August 3, 1975

If you want to be in the international literary "with-it" group, grab *The Camp of the Saints* by Jean Raspail. Already acclaimed in Europe the novel struck me as a combination moral *Jaws* and Brave New World....It's macabre, chilling, overdone, but it makes a point. And the point is vital. The tide is pushing it ever closer to you and me.

Henry Orland
St. Louis Globe Democrat
August 9-10, 1975

At sore points of history mankind is often graced with genial thinkers, prophets, writers who are able to put their fingertips on wounds developing or festering in the *corpus humanus*. A generation ago Orwell and Huxley set ominous problems before us; and we still grapple with them. Now there is Jean Raspail. The Academie Francaise was farsighted enough to award him the Jean-Walther Prize (1970) before he had written this apocalyptic novel. After having read *The Camp* I rank him above most Academicians. The translation is a work of art.

Raspail's basic premises are irrefutable: in a very short time the Third World population will outnumber the inhabitants of the Developed World by almost eight to one; essential resources will become scarcer, and many familiar issues will be perceived in racial terms. Few people are willing to face these chilling facts. Raspail digs into them with existential relish....

The Camp is not a sociological treatise, nor a symbol-laden philosophical dissection of the erosion of Western Civilization. It is a gripping piece of fiction projected into a future practically upon us....

With a pinch of passion and ironic eloquence, the author uncovers the ineluctable truth: the greatest threat to our most cherished values—freedom, com-passion—is the population bomb. He does it with great stylistic aplomb, through discomforting, infuriating detail, and with enervating verve. No reader can remain unaffected by the questions raised in this compelling novel. Raspail has succeeded in challenging the contemporary mind, and, hopefully, shocking it into healing action before it is too late.

Richard Langford
The Weekender
August 3, 1975

The Camp of the Saints attracted much attention in Europe and has been a best seller in France. By Jean Raspail, the novel describes the end of the white world and the beginning of the black.

The novel takes place in the near future, at a time when the poor, impoverished, starving nations suddenly decide to abandon their homes and descend in multitudes upon the West....

Simultaneously, in New York, London, Manila, and in Latin America and Australia, huge masses of "have nots" leave the ghettoes and begin the peaceful takeover of the wealthy, mostly independent portions of every city. Part of the power this novel asserts stems from the presentation of political, official discussion of how to handle the huge social changes taking place. The rationalizing, moralizing, confused mouthings of the more liberal "haves" ends in ironic self-defeat. Religious leaders, teachers, news editors, TV journalists, all see the upheaval in the light of their individual motives, and each is consumed in his own passion.

The Camp of the Saints is dramatic, satiric, strong medicine for liberals and "bleeding hearts." It offers an apocalyptic vision that is all too valid, given known population figures and the decision by most nations simply to ignore the future....

The Camp of the Saints ... will be attacked by liberals, and its chilling vision of the final submission of the western world to the eastern is a nightmare as frightening as it is probable. Jean Raspail's novel is a major contribution to the swirling discussion of human survival, and it may very well change some minds. If it does, then it could affect the outcome of the very situation it discusses, thus offering again evidence of the power of fiction. Suspenseful and compelling as this fiction is, it may very well become truth—or change the course of events in such a way that the novel's very existence prevents the apocalypse it predicts. That kind of fiction is, indeed, powerful, and *The Camp of the Saints* is just that kind of fiction.

Alfred Coppel
Peninsula Living
August 9, 1975

I cannot recall when, if ever, I have read a book of such stunning force and disturbing content as Jean Raspail's *The Camp of the Saints*. I am no stranger to the apocalyptic novel but this work has invaded my consciousness and disturbed my conventional wisdom in a remarkable way.

More remarkable still is the fact that it is being published here in the United States, for it raises questions of morality and survival that few liberals, or even moderates, have any intention of confronting.

As in all powerful works of fiction, the basic story—the premise—is both simple and plausible. At a time in the very near future, a time of famine and deprivation in the Third World, a great throng of hungry Indians take up upon themselves to commandeer a fleet

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of rusty steamers in Calcutta and embark on a voyage to Europe, the "promised land." These unfortunates are familiar to all of us. They are the skeletal shades of Biafrans, Bengalis, Bedouins and Mauritanians we see often on our television screens—the unwanted, the starving, the walking wounded of the Third World.

...

In Raspail's world—not too different from ours—the church has lost all traditions, all discipline. It has become an activist instrument for arbitrary social reform. The government of France (and, by implication, all governments) has lost touch with pragmatism. Inflamed by the communications media, permissiveness and the guilt of affluence, Western populations face the prospect of invasion with mingled apprehension and enthusiasm. In a kind of humanitarian-egalitarian hashish dream, the West awaits the arrival of the pilgrims with no real notion of what is to come....

...The French president, slowly awakening to the incredible implications of an invasion by a near-million starving illiterate refugees from the Third World, tests the willingness of his defense forces to confront the invaders. The sailors rebel when asked to stop the fleet. Few men are willing to slaughter naked and starving multitudes. The Last Chance Armada is invulnerable: its greatest weapon is Western morality.

...The ordinary folk, confronted at last by the Third World, flee in horror. The army deserts. The hippies and radicals trooping into the south to welcome their "brothers" are overrun by a wave of dark humanity... Other armadas embark in Africa and Southern Asia. It is the end of the white world.

To call this novel frightening is an understatement... To call it the world of the future (if the developed world cannot come to terms with its own guilt) is certainly prophetic... This is a bitter, brilliant work. Read it and consider.

James J. Devaney
The Hartford Courant
August 25, 1975

This fascinating novel, if widely read in this country, is sure to raise both hackles and questions. The author has made it impossible to be neutral about his message.

Raspail's *bête noire* is the Third World, and those in Europe and America who, either through personal conviction or for reasons of their own, support the sharing of the developed world's resources.

...

The emigrants are non-violent, but because of their numbers and utter degradation, are unthinkingly merciless to individuals who get in their way, either by accident or design.

The major part of the book concerns the reaction of the Western opinion-makers, who hail the migration as the hope of mankind, until they realize, too late, that the landing of the millions means the end of European civilization.

The characters are drawn in acid and the reader feels a sense of impending doom as Raspail uses the novelist's craft to pose questions which, sooner or later, must be answered.

James J. Kilpatrick
syndicated columnist
in *The Boston Globe*
August 29, 1975

Fifty years ago, T. S. Eliot told us how the world ends: Not with a bang but a whimper. In a brilliant novel just released by a courageous publisher, Jean Raspail says the same thing. *The Camp of the Saints* is one of the most chilling books of this generation.

...Not surprisingly, the novel has been viciously ridiculed by *Time* magazine and the *New York Times*....

Raspail makes the point that horror is like beauty, which lies in the eye of the beholder. To the haves of the Western world, his vision is horrible indeed; to the have-nots of the Third World, the prospect is of paradise.

Who can blame the brown-skinned invaders for seeking at any risk to escape their misery? Yet who could absolve the pusillanimous western leaders for their failure to resist the swarming horde? Raspail absolves no one. The brainwashed West, in his nightmare, is incapable of identifying or defending its own values. Scarcely a shot is fired as the browns, the blacks, and the yellows swarm over the globe. And the curtain falls.

The work is much more than a novel. Two thousand years ago, according to the Population Institute, the world's population was perhaps 250 million. By the year 1000, the figure was only 350 million. In 1500, maybe 450 million. The one billion level was reached about 1800. A reasonably accurate census in 1900 put the estimate at 1.65 billion. Today the world's population is roughly four billion. Now take a breath: Between 1975 and 2000, the four billion is expected to double to eight billion and the growth will occur, overwhelmingly, among the browns, the blacks and the yellows.

Those of use who dwell by God's mercy or by good luck in the "have" nations of this planet must think upon these things. What is to become of our political and cultural values? What of our shiny cities, our plump farms, our tidy little suburbs? Among the Third World peoples of Raspail's vision, the instinct to survive is fiercely developed. Do Western peoples have an equal determination?

Douglas J. Maloney
Pacific Sun Literary Quarterly
Fall 1975

If only the people of the Third World could seize power from the odious oligarchy of multi-nationals, corrupt statesmen, and the CIA, most of civilization's ills would vanish. We would live in harmonious propinquity, cheerfully sharing our resources as Nirvana is at long last achieved. Right?

Not according to Jean Raspail's powerful, almost stunning book. He is certain to be denounced as a racist, fascist, or whatever "ist" is popular these days, not only for commission of

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the most heinous sin against radicalism—disagreement—but for his eloquently blistering and sardonic attack on the hypocritical platitudes we liberals and conservatives alike use to insulate our over-fed hides from the guilty knowledge that people elsewhere are living in abject misery.

Everyone deplores the fact that more than a billion people are starving and suffering, but what would we do if millions of these unfortunates set sail for California to share in our bounty? Sink the ships? Machine gun them as they wade ashore? Welcome them in the name of kinship? Most liberals would not care to put their credo to such a test. But this is precisely what happens in *The Camp of the Saints*, when almost a million Indians depart for France from the shores of the Ganges in a "Last Chance Armada" of rusting, stinking hulks. As the fateful convoy wallows across the seas, France is torn by a moral crisis of unprecedented acuity.

Moreover, Third World people everywhere are ominously waiting for the outcome of the invasion. In fact, the Third World has launched a war against the West, armed with a weapon far more powerful than all of the arsenals of modern industry—helplessness. Unless the fleet is turned back, the first foray will be followed by one after another, totally engulfing and paralyzing the Western countries....

Raspail is a powerful and fluent writer. His use of simile and metaphor enhances the chilling realism that is maintained throughout the novel. He is often misanthropic, but his bitterness is laced with a Gallic elan that is infectious....

He has turned a lofty ideal into harsh reality, like turning a butterfly into a caterpillar. Those most quickly disillusioned are the radicals. They don't realize that to the Third World hordes, they also are pampered whites, indistinguishable from their hated brethren. As they rush to greet the invaders they are trampled or swept away....

The Camp of the Saints was a best seller in France and is bound to become a source of controversy in the United States. Liberals will probably condemn it as a racist polemic because the author refuses to ignore some unpleasant truths and makes most leftists appear fatuous or sanctimonious. But much of his finest vituperation is saved for the acid bath with which he showers the unfeeling complacency of the world's privileged few.

Whatever your political orientation, it's an exciting, superbly written book....

Lin Williams
"World At Large" column
Maple Heights (Ohio) *Press*
November 13, 1975

The ingenuity and determination of those trying to rip off the world is astonishing. The newest gimmick in the arsenal of blackmail—mass invasion by unarmed civilians—is particularly frightening in its potential.

The first test of this technique was launched last week by King Hassan of Morocco who sent tens of thousands of his subjects into the Spanish Sahara on a "March of Conquest."

The column advanced some six miles toward the Sahara capital of El Aaiun, but drew up short before a 15-mile long mine field posted and marked by barbed wire. The Spanish lobbed over a few artillery rounds to emphasize their determination to resist with military force... After shouting a bit and running up a red flag ... the Moroccans began trekking home, claiming a "symbolic victory."

...The Spanish authorities demonstrated that nations with a will to resist despite maudlin public opinion can resist criminality.

This newest wrinkle in modern banditry is disturbing because it was taken straight out of a French novel just recently translated and published in the United States. The book is titled *The Camp of the Saints* and deals with a fictitious invasion of France by a million Ganges Indians.

...the novel describes the conflict between the pacifist nations which rush food and assistance to the oncoming ships and the tough nations which resist the invasion.

In the end, France gives in to "compassion" and allows the fleet of Indians to land. The first whites to be killed are those "liberal thinkers" who rush to the ports to welcome the invaders. Then all whites in Europe are overcome and wiped out systematically. The dark skinned races triumph.

The plot may seem far fetched in synopsis but Raspail's development of the themes is all too plausible....

Raspail takes to task all the institutions that lately have taken the lead in preaching a doctrine of white-guilt and Third World "rights" to the earned wealth of the Western nations.... Raspail's novel is controversial, but thought provoking.

Susan Bernhardt
Sunday Peninsula Herald
Monterey, California
September 21, 1975

"Chilling" is the word printed on this novel's jacket. It is an excellent description....

It's not for the squeamish or those of an "ostrich" bent. It is graphic (but matter of fact) in evoking the hordes of "invaders" who set sail in an antique armada from the banks of the Ganges on their crusade to reap their share of the world's land and goods....

There is never any doubt what the culmination of the invasion will be, and therein lies much of the book's devastating chill-factor. So expertly is the novel built that the many changes of scenes and the philosophical discussions by the characters don't detract but only add to the irrevocable cataclysm.

Meantime, Raspail has made an eloquent statement about world conditions, the class society, modern politics and about the hearts and minds of people.

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Leslie Sowers
The Houston Post
September 21, 1975

Raspail's book examines the core of racism and the frightening monster of overpopulation. His symbolic prophecy is extreme ... but mounting Third World pressure must be relieved or disaster can be expected. The novel is worthy of careful consideration.

Rick Neumayer
Louisville (KY) *Courier-Journal*
September 28, 1975

This propaganda novel is at once a terrifying nightmare and sedulous polemic, the thesis of which is that the decadent West has lost its soul, no longer believes in itself and therefore lacks the will to survive. It links civilization inextricably with race: whites are the "chosen people," but being white "isn't really a question of color" but "a whole mental outlook."

Nevertheless, the reader must face up to the world's grotesque overpopulation and the unlikelihood that wealth will be redistributed voluntarily. Raspail argues that "even if the specific action, symbolic as it is, may seem farfetched, the fact remains that we are inevitably heading for something of the sort...."

Choice
November 1975

Raspail's Spenglerian premise, that Western civilization must decay from within while at the same time its outreaches are overwhelmed by masses of darker-skinned humanity, is given a new and frightening twist... Raspail's thesis, too persuasive to ignore, is that a racial apocalypse is at hand, one that signals the collapse of civilization as we know it. Although the author's argument is potentially racist, Raspail makes clear his belief that the Third World's vengeance upon its white oppressors will be total, a vast chaos without political organization and consequently without hope for conciliation... *The Camp of the Saints* seizes the imagination. Recommended.

Directions
September 1975

Translated from the French, Raspail relates the quite possible tale of hungry third world masses embarking to the prolific, contented West... Understandable, but confused reactions arise in the Western countries; fear combines with armed protectiveness and impractical humanism.

A novel of ideas ... the grim thesis keeps the reader turning pages and, in doing so, she or he realizes the enormity of trying to solve the world's problems; the have's and the have-not's remain tensed in confrontation. Translator Norman Shapiro (Wesleyan University) has done a good job with a difficult book.... Recommended, but get of copy of the French edition, too, for your modern language collection.

Jeffrey Hart
National Review
September 26, 1975

Earlier in the century, the avant-garde artists deliberately outraged bourgeois expectations. Fauves, cubists, dadaists, Joyce, Stravinsky: the riot outside concert hall or gallery, the novel confiscated by customs officer—these were the defining events. In a curious way Jean Raspail's novel *The Camp of the Saints* is reminiscent of that sort of thing. It, too, is an assault, a scandal... In freer and more intelligent circles in Europe, the book is a sensation and Raspail a prize-winner.

In this novel Raspail brings his reader to the surprising conclusion that killing a million or so starving refugees from India would be a supreme act of individual sanity and cultural health... His plot is both simple and brilliant....

A great fuss is currently being made over Jean Raspail's supposed racism, but some distinctions need to be made. For "racism" has without a doubt become the great taboo of our times, and like all taboos is routinely exempted from critical examination. But what is racism? Most people do not now and have not in the past subscribed to esoteric theories regarding the superiority of this or that race. Most people, however, are able to perceive that the "other group" looks rather different and lives rather differently from their own. Such "racist" or "ethnocentric" feelings are undoubtedly healthy, and involve merely a preference for one's own culture and kind. Indeed—and Raspail hammers away at this point throughout his novel—no group can long survive unless it does "prefer itself." One further point is implicit. The liberal rote anathema on "racism" is in effect a poisonous assault upon Western self-preference.

...

Despite the huffing and puffing among the respectable types, Raspail is not really writing about race—he is writing about civilization, and in particular the civilization of the West. He is stating an obvious but outrageous truth. Civilization involves particular forms of being. It is not an amorphous mass. As Frederick Wilhelmsen put it over a decade ago in these pages: "In order to be, a society must defend itself against whatever and whoever might threaten its existence. The inability to defend oneself against the enemy has always been the sign of approaching death.... Men can live and act together only if they are bound together by code and custom, myth and legend, sculpture and song... Where such underlying orthodoxy is lacking we find ourselves in the midst of an aggregate of ghettos, not a society." ■

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The novel The Camp of the Saints *by Jean Raspail (Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1973) continues on its controversial course. Most recently it provided the theme for the cover article in the December 1994* Atlantic Monthly. *To help our readers better understand the author's perspective,* **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT** *asked advisory board member Gerda Bikales to translate from the French Raspail's preface to the third (1985) edition of his novel.*

The Camp of the Saints

By Jean Raspail

Published for the first time in 1973, *Camp of the Saints* is a novel that anticipates a situation which seems plausible today and foresees a threat that no longer seems unbelievable to anyone: it describes the peaceful invasion of France, and then of the West, by a third world burgeoned into multitudes. At all levels—global consciousness, governments, societies, and especially every person within himself—the question is asked belatedly: what's to be done?

What's to be done, since no one would wish to renounce his own human dignity by acquiescing to racism? What's to be done since, simultaneously, all persons and all nations have the sacred right to preserve their differences and identities, in the name of their own future and their own past?

Our world was shaped within an extraordinary variety of cultures and races, that could only develop to their ultimate and singular perfection through a necessary segregation. The confrontations that flow (and have always flowed) from this, are not racist, nor even racial. They are simply part of the permanent flow of opposing forces that shape the history of the world. The weak fade and disappear, the strong multiply and triumph.

For example, since the time of the Crusades and the great land and sea discoveries, and up to the colonial period and its last-ditch battles, Western expansionism responded to diverse motivations—ethical, political, or economic—but racism had no part and played no role in it, except perhaps in the soul of evil people. The relative strength of forces was in our favor, that's all. That these were applied most often at the expense of other races—though some were thereby saved from their state of mortal torpor—was merely a consequence of our appetite for conquest and was not driven by or a cover for ideology. Now that the relationship between the forces has been diametrically reversed, and our ancient West—tragically now in a minority status on this earth—retreats behind its dismantled fortifications while it already loses the battles on its own soil, it begins to behold, in astonishment, the dull roar of the huge tide that threatens to engulf it. One must remember the saying on ancient solar calendars: "It is later than you think..." The above reference did not come from my pen. It was written by Thierry Maulier, in connection with *Camp of the Saints*, as it happens. Forgive me for citing yet another, by Professor Jeffrey Hart of Dartmouth, a literary historian and a famous American columnist: "Raspail is not writing about race, he is writing about civilization..."

"...my true character came through in this book, precisely in the coarse humor found in it, derisory humor, the comical under the tragic, a certain amount of clowning as an antidote to the apocalypse."

After all, *Camp of the Saints* is a symbolic book, a sort of prophecy, dramatized rather brutally by means of shipboards, at the rhythm of inspiration. For if any book came to me through inspiration, I confess that it was precisely this one. Where the devil would I otherwise have drawn the courage to write it? I came out of these eighteen months of work unrecognizable, judging by the photograph on the back of the jacket of the first edition in 1973: my face exhausted, older by ten years than my age today, and with the look of someone tormented by too many visions. And yet, my true character came through in this book, precisely in the coarse humor found in it, derisory humor, the comical under the tragic, a certain

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amount of clowning as an antidote to the apocalypse. I have always maintained that in spite of its subject matter *Camp of the Saints* is not a sad book and I am grateful to some, notably to Jean Dutour, who have understood that exactly: "That West of ours having become a buffoon, its final tragedy could well be a joke. That is why this terrible book is basically so funny..."

But, to go back to the action in *Camp of the Saints*—if it is a symbol, it doesn't arise from any utopia; it *no longer* arises from any utopia. If it is a prophecy, we live its beginnings today. Simply, in *Camp of the Saints*, it is treated as a classic tragedy, according to the literary principles of unity of time, place and action: everything takes place within three days along the shores of Southern France, and it is there that the destiny of white people is sealed. Though the action was then already well developed along the lines described in *Camp of the Saints* (boat people, the radicalization of the North African community and of other foreign groups in France, the strong psychological impact of human rights organizations, the inflamed evangelism of the religious leadership, a hypocritical purity of consciences, refusal to look the truth in the face, etc.) in actuality the unraveling will not take place in three days but, almost certainly, after many convulsions, during the first decades of the third millennium, barely the time of one or two generations. When one knows what constitutes a generation in our old European lands—a rump-generation in the image of a rump-family and a rump-nation—the heart constricts in anticipation, and is overwhelmed by discouragement. It's enough to go back to the scary demographic predictions for the next thirty years, and those I will cite are the most favorable ones: encircled by seven billion people, only seven hundred million of them white, hardly a third of them in our little Europe, and those no longer in bloom but quite old. They face a vanguard of four hundred million North Africans and Muslims, fifty percent of them less than twenty years old, those on the opposite shores of the Mediterranean arriving ahead of the rest of the world! Can one imagine for a second, in the name of whatever ostrich-like blindness, that such a disequilibrium can endure?

At this juncture, the moment has arrived to explain why, in *Camp of the Saints*, it is human masses coming from the far-away Ganges rather than the shores of the Mediterranean that overwhelm the South of France. There are several reasons for this. One pertains to prudence on my part, and especially to my refusal to enter the false debate about racism and anti-racism in French daily life, as well as my revulsion at describing the racial tensions already discernible (but for the moment not fit for discussion) for fear of exacerbating them. To be sure, a mighty vanguard is already here, and expresses its intention to stay even as it refuses to assimilate; in twenty years they will make up thirty percent—strongly motivated foreigners, in the bosom of a people that once was French. It's a sign, but it is only one sign. One could stop there. One could even engage in some skirmishes, all the while ignoring, or pretending to ignore that the real danger is not only here, that it is elsewhere, that it is yet to come, and that by its very size it will be of a different order. For I am convinced that at the global level things will unleash as at a billiard game, where the balls start moving one after the other following an initial shove, which can start up in this or that immense reservoir of misery and multitudes, such as the one over there, alongside the Ganges. It will probably not happen as I have described it, for the *Camp of the Saints* is only a parable, but in the end the result will not be any different, though perhaps in a form more diffused and therefore *seemingly* more tolerable. The Roman empire did not die any differently, though, it's true, more slowly, whereas this time we can expect a more sudden conflagration. It is said that history does not repeat itself. That's very foolish. The history of our planet is made up of successive voids and of the ruins that others have strewn about as they each had their turn, and that some have at times regenerated.

"It will probably not happen as I have described it, for* The Camp of the Saints *is only a parable, but in the end the result will not be any different..."

For the West is empty, even if it has not yet become really aware of it. An extraordinarily inventive civilization, surely the only one capable of meeting the challenges of the third millennium, the West has no soul left. At every level—nations, races,

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cultures, as well as individuals—it is always the soul that wins the decisive battles. It is only the soul that forms the weave of gold and brass from which the shields that save the strong are fashioned. I can hardly discern any soul in us. Looking, for example, at my own country, France, I often get the impression, as in a bad dream dreamt wide-awake, that many Frenchmen of true lineage are no longer anything but hermit-clams that live in shells abandoned by the representatives of a species, now disappeared, that was known as "French" and which did not forecast, through some unknown genetic mystery, the one that at century's end has wrapped itself in this name. They are content to just endure. Mechanically, they ensure their survival from week to week, ever more feebly. Under the flag of an illusory internal solidarity and security, they are no longer in solidarity with anything, or even cognizant of anything that would constitute the essential commonalities of a people. In the area of the practical and materialistic, which alone can still light a spark of interest in their eyes, they form a nation of petty bourgeois which, in the name of the riches it inherited and is less and less deserving of, rewards itself—and continues to reward itself in the middle of crisis—with millions of domestic servants: immigrants. Ah! How they will shudder! The domestics have innumerable relatives on this side and beyond the seas, a single starving family that populates all the earth. A global Spartacus... To cite but one example from hundreds, the population of Nigeria, in Africa, has close to seventy million inhabitants which it is incapable of feeding even while it spends more than fifty percent of its oil income to buy food. At the dawn of the third millennium, there will be a hundred million Nigerians and the oil will be gone.

But the petty bourgeois, deaf and blind, continues to play the buffoon without knowing it. Still miraculously comfortable in his lush fields, he cries out while glancing toward his nearest neighbor: "Make the rich pay!" Does he know, does he finally know that it is he who is the rich one, and that the cry for justice, that cry of all revolutions, projected by millions of voices, is rising soon against him, and only against him. That's the whole theme of *Camp of the Saints.*

So, what to do?

I am a novelist. I have no theory, no system nor ideology to propose or defend. It just seems to me that we are facing a unique alternative: either learn the resigned courage of being poor or find again the inflexible courage to be rich. In both cases, so-called Christian charity will prove itself powerless. The times will be cruel.

— J. R.

Garret Hardin on *The Camp of the Saints*
From an essay, "Discriminating Altruisms" (1982), in *The Immigration Dilemma: Avoiding the Tragedy of the Commons* (Washington, D.C., Federation for American Immigration Reform, 1995).

Universalism is attractive in large part because the ideal is used as a weapon to beat off the restraints necessarily imposed on individuals by family, tribe and nation.... Universalism is unattainable, and individualism is not enough—not in a competitive world where a larger group has the edge over smaller ones....

Many concerned people today find this conclusion hard to swallow. Patriotism, war, nuclear holocaust, destruction of civilization—this chain of ideas has led many to believe that patriotism must be expunged to save civilization. The establishment of One World is seen as a way to dismantle the armaments of nations. But promiscuous universalism would destroy the world too, though in a different way: in T.S. Eliot's prescient formula, "not with a bang, but a whimper."

The whimper has begun, but so far as I know only one literary man has noticed the form it is taking, the French writer Jean Raspail in his novel *The Camp of the Saints.* His argument is only implicit (as a good fiction writer's should be), but it is easy to translate it into explicit stages. The logical steps in the developing disaster are these: (1) by virtue of their craft, opinion makers worship the ideal of promiscuous sharing: for them patriotism is unthinkable; (2) "to each according to his needs" means that when immigrants from a poor country knock at the door of a rich country they must be admitted; (3) the process of moving from poor to rich will continue until wealth is equalized everywhere; (4) but since there is no group limitation on individual freedom to breed it is not so much that wealth will be equalized as it is poverty, thus plunging everyone into the Malthusiam depths.

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"The March" is a BBC film that has been aired frequently in Europe but has seldom been seen in the New World. Reviewer Gustav Uhlich is a retired gastroenterologist, a man of letters, and a native of Austria. In 1994, The Social Contract Press published The Way I Think It Was, *Dr. Uhlich's recollections of his boyhood days in Europe during the Second World War.*

Out of Africa

A Video Review by Gustav Uhlich

One morning in 1972 at his home by the shore of the Mediterranean, novelist Jean Raspail had a vision: "They were here! A million poor wretches, armed only with their weakness and their numbers, overwhelmed by misery, encumbered by starving brown and black children, ready to disembark on our soil, the vanguard of the multitudes pressing hard against every part of the tired and overfed West."

The vision never left Raspail. In his novel, *The Camp of the Saints*, he paints a fascinating picture of the ensuing confrontation — a problem absolutely insoluble by our present moral standards: "To let them in would destroy us. To reject them would destroy them."

THE MARCH
A film made for television
The British Broadcasting Company
1990

Twenty years have passed since publication of Raspail's prophetic vision. The mass migrations of desperate refugees, be it from hunger or persecution, have become a common sight on the evening news. Since most of these lamentable events take place in far-away countries, we respond to them with the expression of moral indignation and a moderate dose of comforting charity. Political correctness does not permit a rational discussion of a rapidly growing problem. As long as we do not step on anyone's hypersensitive toes, everything will turn out all right after all. Why fuss over a very uncomfortable issue?

Credit goes to the British Broadcasting Corporation to disturb our complacent posture. In a recently released film, *The March*, the viewer is confronted with blunt questions. How should our established Western Culture (for the sake of avoiding the explosive term "The White Race") react to the rapid expansion and "peaceful" aggression of other cultural groups? Should we give free rein to instinctive impulses of self-preservation, at the risk of widespread xenophobia, assertive racism and open warfare? Is it more appropriate to mobilize to the utmost our compassionate potential? Are we ready to embrace all members of the human species as our brothers and sisters, and — more to the point — to share with them the abundance of worldly goods that supposedly has fallen into our laps? Or should we perhaps rely on our ability to analyze and openly discuss a problem with long-term consequences for all of us — the "haves" as well as the "have-nots?"

The March begins somewhere in Central Africa with a group of hunger-stricken villagers, led by a charismatic "Mahdi" under the slogan "We have nothing to lose — let us march to Europe and let them watch us die." No threat of violence, killing, aggression. Just a genuine act of desperation, born of hopeless misery.

As the march gains momentum the West dispatches Ms. Fitzgerald, Commissioner for Aid and Development of the European Community. She approaches the situation under the banner of "If you cannot win with love, love the ones you win." The Mahdi is not impressed. "We are poor because you are rich," he explains, and "You make up 20 percent of the world population yet you consume 80 percent of the resources..." and "It would cost $50.00 to feed one of us for one year; you spend $200.00 per year to feed your cat." The Commissioner takes the message back to Brussels. The Commission is unable to act and demands more reports on the situation.

Many other Africans join the march as it progresses. The international headlines speak of millions; in fact there are some 200,000 marchers. Libyan and Algerian politicians — and even a black American politician from Detroit — exploit the event for their own purposes. Demonstrations and riots

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break out in major Western cities. A television producer offers cogent advice to the Mahdi as to the most media-effective way of crossing the Straits of Gibraltar. Europe mobilizes its multinational army. The final confrontation is inevitable.

That is where the film ends. It is up to all people of good will to think their way through the many questions raised in *The March*. So far, I have reached only one conclusion: our seemingly endless obsession with recounting and memorializing the inhumanity of man towards man with the pious wish that it "may never happen again" has done little to improve human conduct. What we can learn from the past is that we must realistically appraise the future and prepare to meet inevitable conflict with wisdom and civility. *The March* points us in the right direction by defining a major problem of burgeoning population and its attendant miseries rapidly approaching our doorsteps. The film opens a pathway to intelligent discussion. If we care at all for our own future, we need to step onto that pathway. ■

[Editor's note: As this issue went to press our offices were still trying to find out where the video could be obtained for purchase or rental. If interested, please contact us at (616) 347-1171, Fax (616) 347-1185.]

The Biologist's Corner

Science Leader Warns of Disaster

Acute shortages of water in huge cities, floods of international environmental refugees, food shortages, political destabilization and even war are the risks facing the Asia-Pacific region and the world unless it can overcome land and water degradation.

The warning comes from one of the world's leading soil scientists, Dr. Marc Latham, director-general of the International Board for Soil Research and Management, in Australia to try to coordinate a global plan to head off the threat. Even the immediate threat of a trade war between the United States and Japan paled beside the larger problem of what might happen if food, land and water systems in the most populous regions declined or collapsed, Dr. Latham said.

"When you look at the magnitude of the population and environmental problem, it is far more significant than a U.S.-Japan trade war. This is not a case of muscle-flexing."

The degradation of land lying high in the forgotten hill country could unleash a chain reaction leading to the decay of food supplies, pollution of city water, urban migration and ultimately to floods of environmental refugees. In Thailand, after two dry seasons, there was already concern about water supplies to the crowded cities, Dr. Latham said.

But the failure of agricultural systems due to soil erosion and loss of precious nutrients could exert an impact no less severe, forcing the rural poor into overcrowded cities where poverty, disease and political unrest can take hold. IBSRAM, an international agency set up with the help of Australia in 1983, is working to head off such disasters by focusing global scientific resources on the source of the problem and sharing the solutions among all. Australia is hosting an international panel, headed by Dr. Latham, with the ambitious goal of drawing up a worldwide research strategy for soil, water and nutrient management.

Despite the scale of the problem, Dr. Latham believes there is a brighter side. Many countries are starting to help their poorer neighbors to cope with land and water degradation, attempting to head off the threat of floods of refugees.

— Julian Cribb, science and technology writer
The Australian, February 18, 1994

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Who determines what the U.S. will look like in 50 years? asks Scott McConnell. His column appeared in The New York Post *on November 2, 1994 just as the nation was about to watch Californians vote on Proposition 187. It is reprinted by permission.*

America's Demographic Future

By Scott McConnell

Listen to a discussion of the American future and you're likely to hear stated as fact two highly debatable observations.

One — I last heard it in a presentation by an Urban Institute spokesman — is the offhand reference to the American "decision" to become a "multicultural society."

The other stresses demographic inevitability. A prominent law professor expressed it in a weekend debate about diversity — clinching, she imagined, her point about the need for more affirmative action by telling her student audience that whites will be just another minority group by the year 2040.

Those who say such things fear no contradiction. The speaker who touts the "decision" about multiculturalism proceeds as if the American people debated and chose to become a multicultural society, rather than having that choice forced on them by Washington-based miscalculation in which they had no hand.

And the demographic transformation forecast, inevitably put forth in tones combining scientific certainty and liberal triumphalism, may come true and may not. That depends almost entirely on the political choices made by the U.S. government and the American people in the years to come.

When the United States eliminated the "national origins" provisions in the 1965 immigration reform, no lawmakers foresaw a large influx of immigrants from Asia and Latin America, indeed supporters of the reform explicitly denied such a possibility. No one "chose" multiculturalism.

The demographic forecasts are highly changeable. If, for example, it is desirable to reduce whites to minority status by the year 2040, why should our society delay even that long? Surely we could get 50 million people from Mexico and Central America and China here by the end of this decade (and save money on the federal Border Patrol and Immigration and Naturalization Service budgets to boot).

There is, as well, an African immigration stream which was started up by the most recent (1990) revision of the federal immigration statutes. It is still in the embryonic stage, yielding most visibly an increase in street peddlers (and the most recent Central Park rapist). But it could be juiced up with no effort at all: It would be no more difficult to persuade 30 million sub-Saharan Africans to migrate here than it would be to convince Haitians.

In short, if the best society is a multicultural one of primarily Afro-Chicano ethnicity, there's no need to wait until 2040. Why deny ourselves and our children the great benefits of Third Worldism that we are planning for our grandchildren?

I'm being facetious, of course, in order to make a larger point. The huge demographic transformations which the U.S. is undergoing are: a) an issue about which the American people have never been consulted in a politically meaningful way; and, b) something which the federal government could accelerate or decelerate dramatically, depending on the course it chooses in the years ahead.

"While politicians have failed to address immigration as a national issue, the American people are confounding them by finding ways to put it on the national agenda."

While politicians have failed to address immigration as a national issue, the American people are confounding them by finding ways to put it on the national agenda. California's Proposition 187, the much-maligned "Save Our State" ballot initiative, represents the first effort in this realm — and certainly not the last.

The wave of scorn which has been heaped upon

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Prop 187 by the national press and the Beltway politicians of both parties is the revealing sign of the vast gap in morals and perceptions which has opened up between the country's political elites and its citizenry.

It is, of course, legitimate to argue that denying illegal aliens access to welfare and social benefits will neither increase their prospects for assimilation nor force them to go back home. But Californians have been left with little choice. There is no party in Washington advocating measures to make it impossible for several thousand people to run across the border every night.

While the U.S. apparently has no difficulty keeping the Iraqi army out of Kuwait, dissuading unwarmed Mexicans and Salvadorans from crossing into California is presented to the American people as Mission Impossible.

For California's voters, the issue does not turn simply on the illegal aliens currently resident there. Of course, it is doubtful that they were greatly assured by the sea of Mexican flags leading the Los Angeles demonstrations against Prop 187.

Nor would they be comforted by attacks on Prop 187 in *The Nation*, an ideological lode star of D.C.'s liberal Democrats. In one recent issue, Leslie Silko enthused that borders were obsolete: "It's no use; borders haven't worked and they won't work, not now, as the indigenous peoples of the Americas reassert their kinship and solidarity with one another."

But only an un-California-like pessimism would lead anyone to doubt that the four million or so Mexicans now in the Los Angeles area could be assimilated in a generation or so, as English language education and intermarriage do their slow transformative work.

Only the constant and accelerating replenishment of the pool of illegal aliens will ensure that such assimilation will be postponed or abandoned.

The immigration debate, which has been jump-started by Prop 187, has antecedents in the last major effort to restrict immigration: the national origins statutes of the 1920s. But the consequences of that last immigration "pause" were, in fact, quite positive — despite the universally bad press they now receive.

During the 40-year breathing space, the offspring of the millions who came here poor and illiterate in the century's first decades learned English and baseball — and, in many cases, higher mathematics and law.

The "xenophobic" United States of the 1920s and 30s was virtually alone among the world's industrial nations in weathering the Great Depression without significant internal violence or powerful challenges to democratic governance. While Hitler and Stalin reigned supreme and their emulators sprouted up throughout Europe, Americans were led by Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Does anyone imagine that today's multicultural United States could display that much social cohesion under the stresses of depression and global war? And how would the even more "diverse" U.S. that is being planned for the next century fare under such crises?

Sustainability Defined

"...sustainable living can be defined as enjoying the fruit without harming the tree that produces it....

— Roy Beck in *Re-Charting America's Future*
Argument No. 2: America the Spacious, p.14
(Petoskey, MI: The Social Contract Press, 1994)

(See an advertisement for the book on page 156)

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Joseph Fallon is a student of and researcher in immigration issues.

The Racial and Ethnic Transformation of the U.S

Tables by Joseph Fallon

Table 1 United States Census: 1790-1990 — Ethnic Distribution Percentages

Census Year	Population	Non-Spanish White [c]	Non-Spanish Black	Asian [d]	Hispan.[e]	Other [f]
1790 [a]	3,929,214	80.7%	19.3%			
1800	5,308,483	81.1%	18.9%			
1810	7,239,881	81.0%	19.0%			
1820	9,638,453	81.6%	18.4%			
1830	12,866,020	81.9%	18.1%			
1840	17,069,453	83.2%	16.8%			
1850	23,191,876	84.3%	15.7%			
1860	31,443,321	85.6%	14.1%	0.1% [g]		0.2%
1870	38,558,371	87.1%	12.7%	0.2%		
1880	50,155,783	86.5%	13.1%	0.2%		0.2%
1890	62,947,714	87.5%	11.9%	0.2%		0.4%
1900	75,994,575	87.9%	11.6%	0.2%		0.3%
1910	91,972,266	88.5%	10.7%	0.2%	0.4% [h]	0.2%
1920	105,710,620	89.0%	9.9%	0.2%	0.7% [h]	0.2%
1930	122,775,046	88.7%	9.7%	0.2%	1.2% [h]	0.2%
1940	131,669,275	89.8%	9.8%	0.2%		0.2%
1950	150,697,361	89.5%	10.0%	0.2%		0.3%
1960 [b]	179,323,175	88.6%	10.5%	0.5%		0.4%
1970	203,211,926	83.3%	10.9%	0.7%	4.5% [i]	0.6%
1980	226,545,805	79.6% [k]	11.5%	1.6% [j]	6.4%	1.0%
1990	248,709,873	75.6% [k]	11.7%	2.9%	9.0%	0.8%

[a] Conterminous U.S. This excludes Alaska, Hawaii, and all out-lying possessions.

[b] This includes the 50 states, but excludes all out-lying possessions.

[c] "Non-Spanish White" includes North Africans and Southwest Asians — i.e., Arabs, Iranians and Turks.

[d] "Asians", which includes Pacific Islanders, was made a separate category in 1980.

[e] "Hispanic", which can be of any race, was made a separate category in 1980.

[f] "Other" refers principally to American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts. In 1990, 52% of "Hispanics" listed their race as "White" and 48% as "Other", whereas in 1970, 93% of "Hispanics" had identified themselves as "White."

[g] The first Asians to be officially listed by the Census were the Chinese in 1860. The Japanese were added in 1870, the Filipinos in 1930 (estimating that population for 1910 and 1920), the Koreans first in 1930 (also estimating that population in 1910 and 1920), and then since 1970.

[h] "Mexicans" were classified as "White" prior to 1930, as "non-White" in 1930 (revising the 1910 and 1920 statistics accordingly), once again as "White" from 1940-1970, and again as "non-White" since 1976.

[i] Based on the 1970 Census special "Persons of Spanish Origins" report.

[j] The 1980 Census enumerated 3,500,439 Asians which would represent 1.5% of the U.S. population. This figure, however, was an undercount. The revised number for the Asian population is 3,726,440 or 1.6% of the total population.

[k] Prior to 1965, the terms "White" and "European-American" were synonymous. After 1965, "White" came to include Hispanics, North Africans and Southwest Asians. While "non-Spanish White" officially distinguishes White Hispanics from other Whites, it still lumps European-Americans with people of North African and Southwest Asian origins. In 1980 there were 894,000 North Africans and Southwest Asians and a total "non-Spanish White" population of 180,256,366. Therefore, European-Americans were 79.2% of the U.S. population. In 1990, there were 1,539,970 North Africans and Southwest Asians and a total "Non-Spanish White" population of 188,128,296. European-Americans were now only 75.0% of the U.S. population.

Sources: All decennial Censuses from 1790 to 1990, U.S. Census Bureau. Stanley Lieberson and Mary C. Waters, *From Many Strands: Ethnic and Racial Groups in Contemporary America* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1988) page 34, Table 2.1, "Ethnic and Racial Composition of the United States, 1980."

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Table 2 United States Population: 1995-2050

The Census Middle-Series Projections
Ethnic Distribution Percentages

Year	Population (in thousands)	Non-Spanish White [1]	Non-Spanish Black	Asian [2]	Hispanic	Other [3]
1995	263,434	73.6%	12.0%	3.5%	10.2%	0.7%
2000	276,241	71.6%	12.2%	4.1%	11.3%	0.7%
2005	288,286	69.7%	12.4%	4.8%	12.4%	0.8%
2010	300,431	67.7%	12.6%	5.4%	13.5%	0.8%
2020	325,942	63.9%	13.0%	6.5%	15.7%	0.8%
2030	349,993	60.1%	13.4%	7.7%	17.9%	0.8%
2040	371,505	56.3%	13.9%	8.7%	20.2%	0.9%
2050	392,031	52.5%	14.4%	9.7%	22.5%	0.9%

[1] "Non-Spanish White" lumps together people of European origin with people whose origin is North African/Middle Eastern — i.e., Arab Persian, Turk, etc.
[2] "Asian" represents both Asians and Pacific Islanders.
[3] "Other" represents principally Americans Indians, Eskimos, and Alerts.

SOURCE: *Population Projections of the United States, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1993 to 2050*, Current Population Reports, P25-1104, November 1993, U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, p. xxii, Table J, "Percent Distribution of the Population by Race and Hispanic Origin."

Table 3 Growth Rate of U.S. Population and Selected Ethnic Groups: 1960-1990

1960-1990	
Chinese	727%
Japanese	226%
Filipino	1222%
U.S. Overall	39%
European-American	19%

1970-1990	
Hispanic	146%
Korean	1032%
U.S. Overall	22%
European-American	12%

1980-1990	
Asian-Indian	126%
Vietnamese	135%
Cambodian	819%
Laotian	213%
Thai	102%
Hmong	1631%
Pakistani	415%
Other Asians	482%
U.S. Overall	10%
European-American	4%

SOURCE: The decennial Censuses for 1970, 1980, and 1990, U.S. Census Bureau. Also "Census Bureau Releases 1990 Census Counts on Specific Racial Groups," CB91-215, U.S. Department of Commerce News, Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, Wednesday, June 12, 1991, pages 3 and 4, Table 1, "Race and Hispanic Origin for the United States: 1990 and 1980"; Table 2, "Other Asian or Pacific Islander Persons by Group: 1990 and 1980."

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Where Are All of These Poor People Coming From?

By Linda H. Thom

On October 6, 1994, the Census Bureau reported that despite a growing economy in 1993, the number of people in poverty had increased to the highest level in a decade. Between 1992 and 1993, 1.3 million more people fell into poverty. According to the *Los Angeles Times* of October 7, 1994, "Daniel Weinberg, chief of the Census Bureau's Housing and Household Economic Statistics Division seemed baffled as he tried to explain why two years after the government announced the end of the recession, the resulting recovery is not progressing according to the traditional economic pattern." The *Times* story also stated that officials noted that California experienced a "statistically significant" change in the poverty rate which climbed 11% in 1993 to a rate of 18.2% for the state as compared to 15.1% for the nation as a whole.

Although Secretary of Labor Robert Reich and Census officials seemed perplexed by the poverty statistics, many in California found the increase neither surprising nor difficult to explain. Immigration, both legal and illegal, is a significant contributor to the increased numbers of poor. Immigration is not the only factor, of course, but it is a very important factor.

The decade of the '80s saw the largest immigration inflow in our nation's history. In California, the economic consequences of immigration are particularly pronounced because the state represents only 12% of the nation's population but is home to almost 50% of the nation's immigrants. As the data being presented here will show, many of the immigrants are poor. Because many have children, the public costs associated with providing services to them are not offset by increased tax revenue.

To understand this, we first examine the state's most current available tax data where we see very large increases in the number of dependents at very low income levels. Table 1 shows the change in dependents claimed on state income tax returns between the years 1987 and 1991, recalling that the Immigration Reform and Control Act was passed in 1986.

Table 1.
Changes in Dependents on Tax Returns 1987 to 1991

Income Level	Dependent Change	Percent of Total Change
Up to $10,000	748,658	39%
$10,000 to $20,000	419,504	22%
$20,000 to $30,000	43,808	2%
$30,000 to $40,000	(33,910)	-2%
$40,000 to $50,000	32,850	2%
$50,000 to $100,000	503,908	26%
Above $100,000	226,968	12%
Total for the State	1,941,786	100%

Sixty percent of the total increase in dependents on tax returns for the entire state were on incomes of $20,000 or less per year. This contrasts with a 36% increase in tax returns at this level. (This means that there were 11% more tax returns filed on incomes of less that $20,000 per year but 36% more dependents.) In contrast the filers with incomes over $100,000 increased by 14% and accounted for 12% of the increase in dependents.

The largest revenue source for California's General Fund is personal income tax — a tax which is very progressive. Table 2 shows state tax data for 1991. In 1991, 49% of the tax returns were reporting incomes of less than $20,000 per year and accounted for 1.6%

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of the total taxes collected. In the range between $10,000 and $20,000, the average tax per return was $83. Four percent of the returns reported incomes above $100,000, and accounted for 52% of the taxes collected. The average tax paid in this bracket was $13,904 per return. The consequence of this large increase in returns, and large increase in dependents at low income ranges, is that public costs, especially for schools, are added without a corresponding increase in tax revenue. The marginal increases in costs are far outstripping the marginal increases in tax revenue which is causing severe state and local budget shortfalls.

Table 2
1991 Returns and Income Taxes by Income Range

Income (thousands)	% of total returns at this range	Taxes paid per return this range	% of total taxes paid this range
up to $10	28%	$4	0.1%
$10 to $20	21%	$83	1.5%
$20 to $30	15%	$340	4%
$30 to $40	11%	$710	7%
$40 to $50	8%	$1,011	7%
$50 to $60	5%	$1,511	7%
$60 to $70	4%	$2,014	7%
$70 to $100	6%	$3,120	15%
Over $100	4%	$13,904	52%

California is experiencing greater numbers of children enrolling in public schools who are Hispanics or Asian-Pacific Islanders, and large increases in the number of students who do not speak English. According to a General Accounting Office report on school age demographics (GAO, August 1993), between 1980 and 1990 California accounted for 59% of the increase in school age children in poverty for the country. For the nation as a whole, the ethnic distribution of the change in the poor school age population was as follows:

White	-194,000
Hispanic	481,000
Black	-27,000
Asian	118,000
Native American	40,000
Total	418,000

Note that Hispanic and Asian children in poverty increased by 599,000 and the entire increase in poor children was 418,000 because there was a decline in the numbers of White and Black school age children in poverty. California accounted for 284,361 of the added poor children in the nation's schools (GAO, August 1993).

Table 3 shows the ethnic distribution of the added children enrolled in California schools (California Basic Educational Data System, CBEDS) and the distribution for the increases in poverty in the state (US Census, Summary Tape 3A). The periods are different but overlapping. The percent changes are virtually identical. For those familiar with immigration patterns of the last decade, the figures look very similar to the ethnic composition of new immigrants to California and to the nation during the last decade. The data show that many additional students are Hispanic and Asian-Pacific Islanders and that many of their parents are poor. Are the students themselves children of immigrants?

Yes, many of them are. California Department of Education data indicate startling increases in non-English speaking children. In October 1993, there were 5.2 million children in California's K-12 public schools (CA Department of Education). Twenty-three percent of the children, or 1.2 million, were classified as Limited English Proficient (LEP). In the decade

Table 3
School Enrollment and Poverty by Ethnic Distribution

Population	1980-90 Poverty Increase	1985-93 Increase in Enrollment
Hispanic	71%	72%
Asian/Pac.Is.	23%	20%
Black	5%	5%
White	1%	3%

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between 1984 and 1994, the number of LEP students has increased 149%. Table 4 shows the LEP students as a percentage of total enrollment, as well as a percentage of Hispanic and Asian students.

In 1994, 44% of the Asian students and nearly half of the Hispanic students do not speak English. Between 1990 and 1994, total K-12 enrollment increased by 495,299, and the number of Limited English Proficient students increased by 353,687. This means that 71% of the additional students enrolled in California schools did not speak English!

Other Costs Beyond Education

In addition to the large number of immigrants who move to California, many immigrants are giving birth, and many of these births are funded by Medicaid. In 1992, 96,000 or 40% of the Medicaid-funded births in the state were to illegal immigrant mothers. Another 17,000 or 7.7% of the Medicaid-funded births were to mothers who had applied for amnesty. This means that 47.7% of the Medicaid-funded births were for immigrant-related deliveries. Between 1988 and 1992 (Medicaid funding for immigrant births began in 1988), there have been over 300,000 Medicaid-funded births for immigrant mothers.

Table 4
Ethnicity, Enrollment and Language Proficiency

Year	Number of LEP	Total Enrollment	Percent of Enrollment
1994	1,215,218	5,267,277	23.1%
1990	861,531	4,771,978	18.1%
Year	**Number of Spanish LEP**	**Hispanic Enrollment**	**Percent of Hispanic Enrol.**
1994	943,559	1,951,578	48.3%
1990	655,097	1,574,105	41.6%
Year	**Number of Asian LEP**	**Asian Enrollment**	**Percent of Asian Enrol.**
1994	189,816	432,140	43.9%
1990	143,782	365,686	39.3%

In 1992, 1 in 5 births in California was to an immigrant mother on Medicaid. Three births in 100 in the nation were to immigrant mothers on Medicaid in the state of California (US Statistical Abstract, 1993, Table 91; CA Department of Public Health). Census data and California data show that between 1980 and 1991, Californians accounted for 46% of the net added births for the whole nation (CA Department of Finance; *California Almanac*). There were 499,000 additional births over the base year of 1980 in the U.S. and California accounted for 230,000 of them. The 1990 Census showed California as the 6th youngest state in the nation — up from 29th in 1980 (*Christian Science Monitor*).

Still another cost: U.S.-born children of illegal immigrants qualify for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). The "child-only" AFDC caseload in California is the fastest-growing and accounts for 49% of the total caseload increase from 1985 to 1992 (CA Department of Social Services). While these programs are very expensive, the highest cost for immigrant support is in the education of children and the enrollment data for the past 8 years indicate that 92% of the additional children are Hispanics or Asian-Pacific Islanders (CBEDS).

About the increase in persons in poverty, Daniel Weinberg, the census official referenced at the start of this article, was quoted as stating that, "we don't have a good explanation for it." Interestingly, Mr. Weinberg and Sheldon H. Danziger, two of the three editors of a book entitled *Confronting Poverty: Prescriptions for Change*, note (on page 36) that "Hispanics as a share of all poor persons have doubled between 1970 and 1990 to about 18 percent; blacks have comprised about 30 percent of the poor over the last three decades." The editors continue, "Although there have been dramatic changes in the poverty rates of children, ...their share of the total poor population has changed very little, because the number of children has fallen in recent years, while their poverty rate was rising. ...children make up nearly 40 percent of the poor" (p.36).

Why did Hispanic poverty increase and black poverty decrease slightly? What state made up 59% of the added school age children in poverty for the

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nation? What state's enrollment increases and child poverty increases were mostly Hispanic and Asian? What state accounted for 46% of the added births for the entire nation between 1980 and 1990? What state is home to the most immigrants who are primarily Hispanic and Asian?

Does immigration have anything to do with the rising levels of poor and low income families in California and the nation? What other conclusion is there?

More importantly, what are the policy implications of this? If many of the immigrants are poor and low income, who is going to pay the added taxes for their support? If no new taxes are forthcoming, who will suffer the reduced services to compensate for the added public costs? In California it is the other poor people who are paying. Aid to Families with Dependent Children grants have been cut three years in a row; Supplemental Security Income has been cut; renters' tax credit has been eliminated; tuition at public universities and colleges has more than doubled.

Nationally, President Clinton proposes cutting off AFDC grants for mothers two years on welfare. In California this will penalize native-born poor women and children since the fastest growing caseload is the "child-only" caseload where mothers are not recipients of the checks — the children are. The Administration has reduced from $85 million to $20 million the Agriculture Department subsidies to food banks for this winter.

Are the wealthy and the middle class going to pay extra taxes to finance more and more foreign-born poor people? Who is going to convince them to do that? Politicians? If we cannot convince "someone else" to pay for all these additional poor people, what happens then? ■

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A Budget Shift at INS

The INS budget for 1995 has a new line item for the promotion of citizenship. INS has allocated $27 million to be given to ethnic organizations to promote becoming a citizen. In the same budget, INS cuts the money allocated to detention space for criminal aliens, asylum applicants, and deportees. Several congressmen have already written to the chairman of the appropriations committee opposing the cuts.

— FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform

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This paper was presented as oral testimony before the Subcommittee on Human Resources, Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives, Monday, November 15, 1993. The author is a social worker who encountered the situations he describes while working for the state of Maryland.

The Impact of Immigration on Welfare Programs

Testimony by Mark J. Lefcowitz

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

Thank you for the opportunity to testify before you today. My name is Mark J. Lefcowitz. I come before this subcommittee as a private citizen, as well as a welfare caseworker specializing in benefit programs for almost fourteen years. Beginning in 1978, I was employed for ten years with the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, and subsequently have been employed with the Fairfax County Department of Human Development for the past four years. Additionally, I am a freelance writer specializing in public welfare issues.

At present, I handle a caseload of approximately 1,400 cases. I estimate that 80-90 percent of my caseload consists of individuals and families who have immigrated to this country within the past ten years.

I make eligibility decisions that determine whether applicants will receive cash, food stamp and Medicaid benefits every day. And every day, I watch as the welfare system is plundered by individuals who have been sponsored by both U.S. citizens and non-citizens to be allowed to live and benefit from the social services of this country.

Before going further, let me make it clear that I am not a xenophobe. I am not motivated to give testimony today for the purpose of immigrant-bashing. Indeed, one of the reasons I have kept silent on this issue outside the confines of my own agency is due to my fears that any report I might give might be misused in the hands of non-professionals. I feared a report on the abuse of, and the problems associated with, the administration of public welfare programs for immigrant populations might be used inappropriately by hatemongers and others for their own political purposes.

I further stress that not all Fairfax County offices of the Department of Human Development have as high a ratio of immigrant clients as does my office, nor do all eligibility workers. My office handles approximately 800 intakes each month; of those cases approximately 50 percent are recently arrived immigrants and permanent resident aliens. An additional 25 percent are U.S. citizens of foreign extraction. I do not have any statistics on the ratio of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) recipients who are U.S.-born and whose parents are non-citizens. In my limited experience in this particular program, involving this specific population, I would estimate that the ratio would be extremely high, possibly three to one or higher.

My co-workers are as diverse a group of individuals as I have ever worked with. Many are not U.S.-born, a few not even U.S. citizens, and a fair number of them have sponsored relatives and friends themselves so they might live in this country. Based on discussions with my colleagues, regardless of their individual background, a majority would agree with the substance of the testimony that I give today.

Finally, I emphasize that many of the problems associated with the administration of welfare benefits for immigrant populations are the same problems associated with non-immigrant populations. There is a lack of sufficient staffing; a lack of a clear and practical social vision which is translated into a clear and practical social policy; overly complicated and sometimes contradictory regulation; undue judicial interference; lack of data collection which is consistent and accurate; lack of leadership and ability at the state and local level; and (what I feel is the worst of all) a welfare system which ultimately encourages economic and social dependence and dysfunctional behavior.

These problems cut across political party lines

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and political ideology. These problems have existed for decades in the federal government, as well as in each of the states. There is plenty of blame to go around.

As I have stated, every day I watch the welfare system taken advantage of by individuals who have been sponsored into this country. But it is worse than that. Every day my fellow workers and I are forced to deny benefits to elderly and disabled individuals who have worked extremely hard for nickels and dimes all their lives. These are people who *have* contributed to this country; who have paid taxes, who have supported welfare programs and disability programs through wage contributions. These are people who need help; people who are getting perhaps $500 or $600 in Social Security and retirement benefits every month, and from this meager income are expected to "spend down" through the payment of out-of-pocket medical expenses to a semi-annual net income of $1950 before they are eligible to receive full Medicaid benefits.

And every day my fellow workers and I are forced to approve benefits to individuals who have been sponsored into this country within the past three years; many of them elderly and automatically eligible for full Medicaid benefits; individuals who have never contributed a single dime to this country and who will be effectively wards of the state for the remainder of their lives in this country.

How can this happen? Congress has built piecemeal immigration and welfare systems which encourage sponsored aliens, many of them elderly, to be brought into this country and to live off the welfare system.

And ultimately, there can be no doubt, it is the federal government which is responsible. It is the federal government which interprets the welfare laws of this land and which sets welfare policy and goals. It is the federal government which makes immigration policy. And it is the inconsistencies among these policies which allow sponsored immigrants to have access to this country, its resources, its welfare system, and the welfare system's entitlements.

To paraphrase [the theme of the movie] *Field of Dreams*: if you build it, they will come.

Divided Agency Responsibility

There are a number of federal agencies responsible for welfare policy. Each agency promulgates its own regulations, and this cumulative body of federal policy and regulations is in turn interpreted by each individual state's Department of Welfare or Department of Social Services to ensure entitlement program compliance. It is then promulgated to the individual local agencies as state policy.

These federal regulations are often so inconsistent with one another that they frequently contradict and negate one another. One prime example is the issue of confidentiality. Due to strict non-disclosure laws, it is virtually legally impossible to notify authorities of deceptive practices by any applicant for welfare benefits.

"Due to strict non-disclosure laws, it is virtually legally impossible to notify authorities of deceptive practices by any applicant for welfare benefits."

Unfortunately, it is not unusual for a newly arrived sponsored alien to come to a welfare office within weeks — sometimes days — of entering this country to apply for benefits. In Virginia, this problem in the past revolved around the State's General Relief program. Only recently has this problem been rectified by requiring the "deeming" of sponsor income and resources in the determination of eligibility.

Obviously, state-funded programs are beyond the scope of this committee and the federal government. But it illustrates the point that the sponsors of permanent-status aliens often lie to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Individuals — sponsored by others who have promised to support them financially for a three-year period — routinely apply for and are eligible for welfare benefits.

From the line worker's perspective — and I think, too, from the perspective of most taxpayers — this reality is rather incomprehensible. Our first inclination is to report the sponsor to INS. The problem is we can't; federal and state policies regarding confidentiality prohibit the reporting by my agency of any information obtained in the process of application for welfare benefits.

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To my mind, and the mind of most of my fellow caseworkers, this just plain doesn't make any sense. We administer federal entitlement programs, we routinely get both immigration status and financial information from a variety of federal agencies, but we are prohibited from revealing information which indicates that an individual has lied to immigration authorities in order to get someone into the United States as a permanent-status alien.

Another example is the fact that despite sponsored status, individuals 65 years of age or older are eligible for Medicaid, provided they meet income and resource requirements. That means that elderly parents and grandparents of sponsors are eligible for full Medicaid coverage within weeks of entering the United States, although they have neither contributed a single nickel, nor done anything to earn the privilege of that eligibility.

Yet at the same time, as noted in my introduction, my fellow caseworkers and I have no option but to deny Medicaid benefits to elderly individuals who have worked, paid taxes, and served their country, but who are marginally over the net income limit of $325.00 a month.

For many of us, this is an unbearable situation.

Playing the System

This country is allowing individuals to enter this country who are already aware of and are planning to use the nation's welfare system. Rather than relying on the financial support of their sponsors until they are able to become self-supporting, many of these individuals are counting on the welfare system to support them, and never become self-supporting.

The current procedure of "deeming" a sponsor's income is mitigated because there is no limit to the number of people a sponsor can bring into this country.

It is also obvious, to most of us on the line, that there is a good deal of deception taking place when sponsors declare income and resources to the INS, and a great deal of deception when these very same sponsors soon thereafter report depleted resources and lost income to intake welfare caseworkers.

If a sponsor successfully hides income and resources, there is little the line intake worker can do, except authorize benefits.

One particular case of playing the system comes to mind.

A permanent-status alien sponsored his mother-in-law into this country three years ago. This woman was well over 65 years of age, and therefore eligible for Medicaid benefits.

While ineligible for Supplemental Security Income (SSI) benefits due to excess "deemed" sponsor income, the mother-in-law applied for and was granted General Relief benefits, which at the time of application made no provision for sponsor income and resources. When the Virginia General Relief program changed its policy toward sponsor income, this mother-in-law was "grandfathered" into the program because she was already receiving benefits.

Several months ago, she celebrated her third anniversary in this country. Because sponsor income is no longer "deemable" after three years, this woman became immediately eligible for SSI benefits because she is aged. She also applied for and has been determined eligible for food stamp benefits because she now claims that she eats separately from the rest of her family.

Her sponsors — her son-in-law and her daughter — have now returned to their home country permanently, leaving the mother-in-law in the care of one of their college-age daughters. The mother-in-law, however, continues to collect SSI benefits, Medicaid, and food stamps. Recently, this woman flew back to her home country to visit her daughter and son-in-law for several weeks and returned back to this country, her benefits intact.

"I ask that the committee consider recommending the adoption of much more restrictive language for welfare benefits for non-U.S. citizens and their dependents..."

General Policy Recommendations

I urge this subcommittee to further explore, in much greater detail, the issue of the impact of immigration on welfare programs. I ask that the committee consider recommending the adoption of much more restrictive language for welfare benefits for non-U.S. citizens and their dependents, both permanent-status aliens entering the United States

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under sponsored status, as well as refugees who have not been part of my testimony here today.

Specifically, I recommend the following:

1. That the time limit for sponsorship responsibility be extended from three years to at least five years for immigrants under the age of 55. For individuals over the age of 55, where the possibility of gainful employment is extremely low, sponsorship should be a lifetime commitment.

2. That sponsors of immigrants attest that the individuals they sponsor into this country will not apply for welfare benefits — either federal, state, or municipally funded entitlement programs — or Supplemental Security Income (SSI) benefits, and that each sponsor be bonded as a condition of sponsorship, in the event that a sponsored individual under their financial responsibility does apply for welfare benefits of any kind.

3. That permanent-status aliens not be eligible for welfare benefits or SSI benefits until they have demonstrated self-sufficiency through the reporting of earned income to the Internal Revenue Service for a three-year period. That in all such cases where self-sufficiency has not been demonstrated, sponsorship responsibility be extended until such time as self-sufficiency has been demonstrated.

4. That the minor dependents — whether U.S.-born or non-U.S.-born — of a sponsored alien be considered dependents of the sponsor until such time as they become emancipated adults.

5. That the number of individuals that can be sponsored by an individual or married couple — both at any one time or during their lifetime — be finite.

6. That confidentiality regulations regarding divulging information about sponsors and/or their sponsored immigrants be lifted in such a way as to encourage the free flow of information between the local agencies and the regional offices of the INS, particularly as it relates to possible fraud. And that INS be encouraged to collect and pursue immigration fraud allegations vigorously.

7. That sponsor fraud be made a criminal offense, punishable either by fine and/or imprisonment. And that sponsored immigrant fraud also be made a criminal offense punishable by deportation.

8. That local agencies which have inordinately high caseloads of non-U.S. citizens be acknowledged to have special problems associated with the handling of such caseloads, including the need for translators, the need for federal assistance in obtaining more line workers, and the need for federally mandated caseloads which are lower in number than those for agencies which do not serve such populations.

9. Last, I recommend that this subcommittee make a concerted effort to encourage and mandate the codification of all welfare regulations among the federal agencies so that there is consistency, uniformity, and as much simplicity as possible among the many regulations having to do with the status of immigrants and their eligibility for welfare benefits.

[*Editor's note: See a related article on page 142.*]

School Daze in Dade County

Dade County Public Schools' K-12 student population was 299,284 as of January 30, 1992.

More than one of every four students (76,689) or 26 percent were born outside the United States.

Twenty-six schools have 500 or more foreign-born students.

Seventeen schools have more than 1000 foreign-born students.

Between July, 1991 and January 30, 1992 a total of 8098 foreign-born students have entered.

An average of 1200 foreign-born students have enrolled each month for the 36-month period ending January, 1992.

For each foreign-born refugee student, the district incurs $588 unreimbursed cost.

The immediate cost of housing foreign-born students is estimated to be $136 million.

The long-range cost of housing foreign-born students is estimated to be $665 million.

— Executive Summary of the Immigration Briefing Package
Dade County Public Schools, Miami, FL, January 31, 1992

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Well, yes, there are cultural differences. Reprinted with permission from The New Democrat, *November, 1994. Norman Matloff has done extensive volunteer work in San Francisco's Chinatown. A professor of computer science at the University of California at Davis, he is married to an immigrant from Hong Kong and speaks Cantonese and Mandarin.*

From 'Jiu Ji Jin' to 'Fu Li Jin'

Some Chinese Immigrants Mistakenly See Welfare as a "Fringe Benefit"

by Norman Matloff

DAVIS, CALIF. — Immigration advocates in San Francisco's Chinatown sponsored a forum in May on welfare reform that drew an overflow crowd of elderly recipients.

During the event, the advocates condemned proposals to restrict welfare use by immigrants as racially biased attacks on the needy. To their chagrin, the most common queries from the "needy" audience involved recipients' fears that their vacations overseas might harm their welfare eligibility. Such concerns are a far cry from those of kids in South Central Los Angeles who have never seen the ocean, less than 10 miles away.

A new class of welfare dependents has grown at an alarming rate over the last decade or so: elderly immigrants, typically put on the dole by their children. A review of U.S. Census Bureau data and interviews with dozens of Chinese immigrants and their advocates reveal a disturbing picture of many middle- to upper-class families willing to bend or break U.S. immigration laws in order to get a share of "free money."

Nationally, welfare use among elderly legal immigrants of all races and ethnicities soared by a frightening 400 percent between 1982 and 1992. Worse yet, the annual growth rate is accelerating as word of America's "generous" welfare policies spreads abroad.

To be sure, Chinese immigrants are not the system's only abusers. However, they are disproportionately heavy welfare users, and their stories illustrate how the practice is becoming more common among other immigrant groups. U.S. Census Bureau data show that 55 percent of the Chinese seniors who emigrated to California between 1980 and 1987 were on welfare in 1990. The comparable 1990 figure was 21 percent for elderly Mexican immigrants and only 9 percent for native-born seniors.

To put it another way, most of these Chinese seniors do not speak English and do not know the meaning of standard American acronyms such as CBS, NBA, FBI, or even INS. But there is one they all know quite well: SSI, or Supplementary Security Income, the federal welfare program for older Americans.

Consider the case of Mr. Cheng, a retired teacher from Taiwan. Cheng says he and his wife came to the United States to be reunited with their three children. But the children, all computer engineers, live in Houston, and the family "reunites" only once a year. Cheng says and he his wife settled in Sacramento rather than Texas because they prefer the weather in California.

Like all other immigrant sponsors, when the Chengs' son sponsored his parents he signed Immigration and Naturalization Service affidavits declaring his ability to support them and assuring they would never "become a public charge." But as soon as his parents fulfilled a three-year residency requirement for welfare eligibility and in spite of his pledge to the INS, the son placed them on SSI. He also moved them into a federally subsidized apartment that is populated almost entirely by elderly Taiwanese.

Or take Mr. Liu, a retired Taiwanese foreign service officer. Liu has one son who is a stockbroker and whose wife is a company controller. They live in an affluent part of the San Francisco Bay area. Liu's other son is a financial management consultant. The elder Liu and his wife used to live with the stockbroker son but recently went on SSI and moved into a government-subsidized apartment in order "not to be a burden."

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Finally, consider Mr. Zheng of China. He, too, is an SSI recipient and lives in subsidized housing in Oakland's Chinatown. His son is a successful physician specializing in obstetrics and gynecology.

The children's relative affluence in these three cases (which used pseudonyms to protect the families) is hardly exceptional. It is a natural consequence of the INS requirement that children certify they can support their parents before the parents are allowed to immigrate. Immigrant advocacy groups lobbying against SSI reform conveniently overlook this point. For example, the Organization of Chinese Americans recently issued a Clinton Administration "report card" claiming that the President's reform bill would "burden" the seniors' sponsors — a claim that starkly ignores the affidavits to the contrary signed by those sponsors.

According to Mei Young, an immigration paralegal aide with the Legal Center for the Elderly and Disabled in Sacramento, it is common for Chinese immigrant professional couples with combined annual incomes well over $100,000 to put their parents on welfare. Census data indicate that, in California, roughly 75 percent of the children of senior immigrant welfare recipients of all ethnicities, not just Chinese, have incomes above the state median, even after adjusting for family size.

The SSI checks of the 42 percent of immigrant parents (again, of all ethnicities) who live with their children often become a financial windfall for their sons and daughters and even for relatives back home. Rosemarie Fan, social services manager for the Oakland Chinese Community Council, noted that the additional cost of feeding the parent is so small that virtually all of his or her SSI check becomes discretionary income.

"My grandparents take SSI simply because it's available," a Chinese immigrant in his 20s explained. "That's where my parents got the down payment for the house they bought ... And my grandparents want to leave [the accumulated SSI] money to us when they pass on."

The degree to which these Chinese families grasp the ins and outs of the U.S. welfare system is striking. Ruth Chu of the Chinatown Service Center in Los Angeles noted that many organizations in Asia give advice about SSI to those considering emigrating to the United States. Hong Shing Lee of the City Hall Senior Center in New York said Chinese seniors' first order of business after arriving in the United States is to ask him for further details on welfare. Edna Law, director of a Chinese senior citizens' center in tony Palo Alto, marveled at her clients' wealth of knowledge: "Sometimes I'm amazed — the seniors know more than I do!"

Law also noted that seniors from Taiwan are especially well informed about welfare. They are "very sophisticated," she said. "They get all the benefits they can."

One Taiwanese senior told me that many elderly Taiwanese "give their money to their children, put title in the children's names, etc., so that they can qualify" for SSI and subsidized housing. Typically, such cases include a private agreement between parent and the child that the money still belongs to the parent. As the parent continues to accumulate SSI checks, he or she will continue to deposit money into the "ghost account" held by the child.

"Census data indicate that, in California, roughly 75 percent of the children of senior immigrant welfare recipients of all ethnicities, not just Chinese, have incomes above the state median..."

Many obtain their information from books and periodicals. For example, a popular Chinese-language book on life in America sold in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Chinese bookstores in the United States includes a 36-page guide to SSI and other welfare benefits. Likewise, *World Journal*, the largest Chinese-language daily newspaper in America, runs a "Dear Abby"-style column on immigration matters, with welfare dominating the discussion. In the February 17, 1994 issue, for example, seven of the eight questions dealt with SSI.

Here are some recent examples of questions asked:

- "I currently receive $520 per month SSI. I live with my daughter and pay her $300 per month in rent. I would like to move to HUD-subsidized housing, since HUD policy is that one pays only one-third of one's monthly income for rent. Please tell me how to apply."

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•"I came to the U.S. in 1989 on a tourist visa to see my children. I overstayed my visa and have been here since then, being supported by my children. I will soon receive my green card. As I have already been in the U.S. longer than the three-year period, can I immediately apply for SSI and Medicaid?"

•"My mother is an SSI recipient. She wishes to return home to Asia for a year and a half. Will her SSI benefits automatically be canceled? And when she returns, will she have to reapply for SSI from scratch?"

Such questions illuminate a disturbing trend in the nation's Chinese immigrant community: In recent years, the seniors have come to perceive SSI as a normal benefit of immigration whose use is encouraged, like a library card, without stigma. Taking welfare used to be anathema to the traditionally conservative, self-reliant Chinese. But these days, SSI has full social acceptance. Chinese political activists have exacerbated the problem by aggressively promoting SSI use, further fostering the "library card" perception.

One senior from China pointed out that a common attitude about SSI today is *mh hou sit da*—Cantonese for "don't miss this great opportunity." Another senior, from Taiwan, noted that the term Chinese seniors use for welfare has been euphemized, changing from the old *jiu ji jin* ("economic rescue funds") to *fu li jin* (roughly translated, "fringe benefits").

A growing number of Chinese social workers agree that our SSI policy is deeply flawed. As Cindy Yee of the Oakland Chinese Community Council observed: "The system is not well put together ... not strict enough to make the sponsors responsible." Yet Chinese political activists, claiming to represent the Chinese community, have been beating a path to Washington, lobbying heavily against SSI reform.

Due to federal budget rules, every dollar spent to reform welfare will mean another dollar in taxes or another dollar taken out of another program's account. This means every dollar paid to an immigrant parent with well-off children is a dollar unavailable for helping the underclass out of the welfare cycle. Such a reverse-Robin Hood effect is unconscionable.

Most of the elderly Chinese SSI recipients are decent people who do not realize SSI is intended only for the financially desperate. The children who break pledges to support their parents, and who may even profit from the system, are not so innocent. The loopholes they use to abuse the system must be plugged. ■

[*Editor's note: See the related article on page 142.*]

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Yet another case of cultural differences. Published November 28, 1994, this article is copyright 1994 by The Los Angeles Times *and reprinted with permission.*

Ethnic Imbalance Threatens to Erode U.S. National Parks

By Frank Clifford

It has been almost 100 years since President Theodore Roosevelt stood beneath the majestic stone archway at the north entrance of Yellowstone National Park and proclaimed the democratic ideal that has become the informal credo of the national park system.

"It is the preservation of the scenery, of the forests, of the wilderness life and wilderness game for the people as a whole, instead of leaving the enjoyment thereof to be confined to the very rich who can control private reserves," Roosevelt declared.

The people *have* enjoyed — in numbers that annually outstrip the National Park Service's ability to accommodate, look out for, or clean up after. But in Yellowstone and elsewhere in the park system, Roosevelt's vision of democracy does not square with reality.

As the nation's population has grown increasingly diverse, the system's 368 parks, monuments, historic places, seashores, waterways and recreation areas have remained largely the province of middle-to-upper class white people. Blacks, Hispanics, Asian-Americans and American Indians each make up a tiny fraction of those who visit the nation's most treasured natural preserves.

"If it weren't for a handful of urban parks, the national park system would be white and elitist," said Gary Machlis, a Park Service sociologist whose office has surveyed 20,000 visitors at 60 parks. Those surveys indicate that nearly 50 percent of visitors had household incomes of more than $40,000 a year.

The issue of ethnic imbalance has troubling implications for the future. If coming generations of Americans, 50 percent of whom won't be white by the middle of the next century, are indifferent to the nation's most spectacular outdoor places, what will happen to public support for protecting natural resources? "No diversity. No biodiversity," one Park Service official said.

Alarmed by the trend, National Park Service Director Roger Kennedy said in a recent interview that the parks must attract a broader slice of the American people or eventually risk losing taxpayer support for their $1.5 billion annual budget.

The imbalance is partly a byproduct of one of the parks' great virtues — their remoteness from the clamor of urban life. With minorities and immigrants typically cloistered in large cities, only the more affluent are likely to know about the parks, let alone go to them. Moreover, some minorities who do use them express wariness about traveling to remote places through rural America.

"If coming generations of Americans, 50 percent of whom won't be white by the middle of the next century, are indifferent to the nation's most spectacular outdoor places, what will happen to public support..."

Park Service officials shoulder some of the responsibility for the absence of diversity.

"We're victims of our own isolation," Kennedy said. "We need to make stronger connections with school systems. We need to start putting visitor centers in the middle of cities. We can't assume that you already know it's neat to go camping in the Santa Monica Mountains because you have a family camping tradition that grandpa started."

"What if grandpa wasn't around? What if he was living somewhere south of Chihuahua?"

A recent Park Service survey at nine sites found that minorities made up 7 percent of visitors. (They constitute one-quarter of the nation's population.) The

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survey looked at several of the most popular parks, including the Great Smokies in North Carolina, Grand Teton in Wyoming and Gettysburg in Pennsylvania.

Studies reveal a similar pattern in California. A 1991 review of visitors at Yosemite, conducted by researchers at Texas A&M University, found that more than 80 percent of visitors were white, less than 6 percent were Asian-American, less than 5 percent were Hispanic and less than 3 percent were black.

Move to the Cities

The current Park Service administration is not the first to grapple with the issue of diversity. For more than 20 years, the agency has tried to reach out in various ways.

In the early 1970s, it began creating big city parks such as Gateway National Recreation Area in New York City and Golden Gate National Recreation Area in San Francisco close to ethnically mixed urban neighborhoods.

Jerry Belson, a black man who directs Park Service operations in southern Arizona, believes the Park Service could go a long way toward making minority visitors feel more comfortable simply by hiring more minority employees.

"Park visitors are comfortable with people they can relate to," Belson said. "If you're not going to have people of color working in the parks, you are not going to attract people of color as visitors."

Nationwide, the Park Service's professional staff, including rangers, is 87 percent white, 6 percent black, 4 percent Hispanic, about 1 percent Asian-American and about 1 percent American Indian.

Workforce Under Represented Too

Park Service officials insist they are trying to diversify the workforce but point out that low starting salaries — about $14,000 for a ranger — and shabby living conditions at many parks have hampered their efforts.

In the meantime, the Park Service has been looking for new ways to highlight the role of minorities in American history.

Last year, it opened the Manzanar National Monument at the site of a World War II detention camp in Central California. Its purpose is to tell the story of Japanese-Americans who were interned there.

At established sites, the Park Service is exploring the past with a pointedly populist flavor. With the aid of letters and oral histories, the American experience is being presented from the perspectives of ordinary people.

"It may be interesting for a minority person to go to a site dedicated to a president or a general or a captain of industry," said James Horton, a special assistant to the Park Service director. "But you won't hold their attention long if you don't let them see their own history writ large in these places." ■

A Contest Animals Always Lose

Kenya's fast-growing human population, which rose from 6 million to 20 million between 1957 and 1987, is placing more pressure on the land to sustain it. That means more pressure to plant crops, which in turn means more opportunities to go head to head with baboons, zebras, and elephants — a contest the animals will always lose.

— *Science,* August 5, 1994, p. 733

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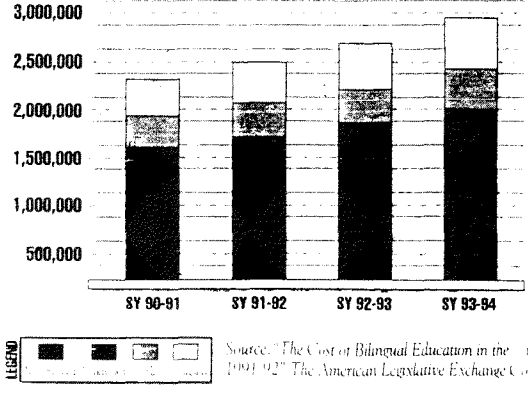
READ stands for the Institute for Research in English Acquisition and Development. The institute may be contacted at Metropolitan Square, 655 15th St., NW, Suite 310, Washington, D.C. 20005, (202) 483-0510, FAX (202) 347-6109.

The Costs of Bilingual Education

READ Newsletter, Fall 1994

The American Legislative Exchange Council recently released a report entitled "The Cost of Bilingual Education in the United States 1991-92" defining and describing funding levels for instructional programs for limited-English students. Figures on the exact costs of educating limited-English students have not been available, but the Council has made a determination based on per pupil expenditures during the SY 1991-92 from the National Education Association and data from the U.S. Department of Education on the number of limited-English students who received instruction in different program types during the same period. While this methodology may underestimate the total amount being spent nationwide, it does give a good indication of the relative distribution of resources between bilingual programs and English as a Second Language programs.

Trends in Enrollment for Limited-English Students



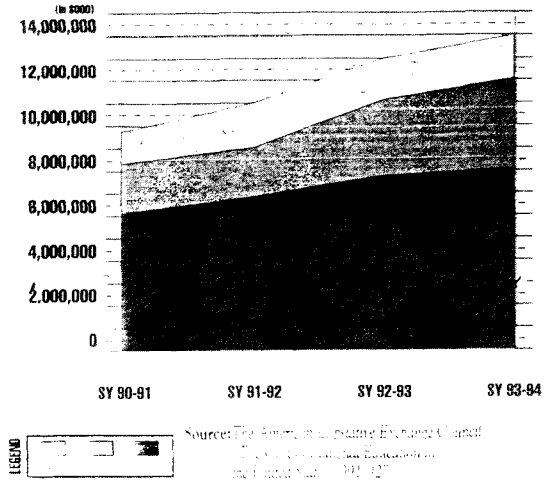
Source: "The Cost of Bilingual Education in the United States 1991-92" The American Legislative Exchange Council

The report indicates that nationwide, over $12 billion is being spent on the education of limited-English students, with over half, 55%, being spent on bilingual education programs, 24.5% being spent on undefined programs, and only 19.6% being spent on English as a Second Language programs. It estimated that 20% of identified limited-English students are receiving no special program of instruction at all. ESL programs receive less than half the amount spent on bilingual programs, less than is spent on undefined programs.

Despite the prevalence and high cost of bilingual education programs, their effectiveness has yet to be demonstrated. As noted by DR. Rosalie Pedalino Porter, a READ board member, in a recent commentary on Goals 2000 and the bilingual student, intensive English programs cost far less to implement than do full bilingual programs, which in effect create segregated schools. Although research has indicated that intensive English programs are at least as effective as bilingual programs in mainstreaming students, they represent a low proportion of the type of program available.

Nationwide, the high cost of educating limited-English students is taking its toll on school budgets. Cost, of course, is not the main consideration in program design. Effectiveness is, however, and many bilingual programs need to be carefully scrutinized in this regard. As noted in the conclusion of the Legislative Council report, it is still not certain that value is being obtained for the money spent on the education of limited-English students. ■

Trends in Expenditures by Program



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This item is reprinted from C-File *(Summer 1994), newsletter of the Coalition for Immigration Law Enforcement, 1742 Garnet Avenue, No.240, San Diego, CA 92109, (619) 270-2425.*

Goal: To Give Birth in the U.S.A.

From the Coalition for Immigration Law Enforcement

As the government develops the technology to stop people at our borders, women from Mexico and other countries continue to come here to gain the automatic (given in error) citizenship for their children. Last year a pregnant reporter from the *El Paso Times* went undercover to see the route from across the border into the U.S. delivery room.

Many expectant Mexican citizens travel back and forth, using the border-crossing card that allows 72 hours in the U.S. to find the medical facility, get pre-natal care, and later give birth.

The reporter, Emily Jauregui, was weeks away from delivering. In Mexico, coyotes (the smugglers) wasted no time approaching her as she arrived near the bridge. Originally told the price of $50, which would include being delivered to the county hospital, they finally settled on $20. The hospital is in view of the border and that spells trouble. The coyote told her about the advantages of having the baby in the U.S.; about the food stamps, welfare and WIC — the Women, Infants and Children program — by which one receives free formula, orange juice and peanut butter for the baby. The smuggler warned her the hospital would turn her away if she wasn't on the verge of delivery so she should wait until contractions begin.

After a long conversation, Emily left that smuggler and found others down the road that would take her across for $2 or $3, but that crossing was in an inner tube. Once across, taxis on the U.S. side provide the quick ride to Thomason Hospital.

Problem number one at the hospital: Federal law prohibits questioning a patient's citizenship. Everything goes smoothly once you're inside. The Mexican women share advice and encouragement about having a baby born a U.S. citizen. The reporter sat among them with no identification so she could find out how the system works.

As Emily, our reporter, sounded confused and shy she relayed that she needed information from a doctor. The receptionists asked for identification and upon finding she had none told her how to apply for pre-natal care. She only needed a utility bill from a home in El Paso County and a notarized letter from the homeowner verifying residence. When she sat there quietly, the lady took her hand and told her she should have a friend write a simple one-line letter attesting to her residence in the friend's home.

Emily asked if hospital officials would find out — the lady said no one ever checks.

She was told Medicare would pay for the delivery, about $1,600 for a normal birth and $2,500 for a Cesarean. Next she could receive WIC, the Women, Infants and Children program.

Later, she was told by other women in the waiting room that she could apply for public housing and food stamps. They chatted about the benefits: better education for the child, the baby protected from deportation, and Medicaid paying for postnatal care.

Emily returned with her phony notarized letter a few days later. The woman that checked her paper ended up telling her that she too had entered illegally through Tijuana about twenty years before. The reporter was coached on what she would be asked and how she should answer. After Emily was asked by a man at a computer her name, address and telephone number, she was handed her El Paso Care Card. In five minutes she was registered to have a baby at Thomason Hospital in the U.S.A.

Another couple Emily met on her investigation lived in Ciudad Juarez and would not stay in El Paso. They want their baby to have the option of living in the U.S. when he or she is older. For them, the Mexican hospitals are too crowded and the service isn't that good. They will pay for the birth at a midwife clinic which costs about $600.

Since the blockade has gone into effect we suspect that the number of women having their babies in El Paso has been reduced. However, the same set of circumstances still exists in many border cities, including San Diego. It will not end until the mistake of conferring automatic citizenship has ended. ■

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Georgie Ann Geyer is a syndicated columnist and the author of several books on international affairs, most recently Waiting For Winter to End *(Washington, DC: Brassey's Inc., 1994, $23.00). This Commentary is reprinted with the permission of the Universal Press Syndicate.*

Ethical Principles Must Underlie Immigration Policy

By Georgie Ann Geyer

Once again, immigration makes the news in America. Thousands of Haitian refugees flee that benighted island. The governors of America's border states sue the federal government for relief over the growing and insatiable costs of illegal immigrants. Even as we celebrate the principles behind the sacred independence of America this Fourth of July, few ever ask: What is the basis on which our crucial immigration decisions should be made? Indeed, as America flails around in an unrooted and ill-defined immigration discussion that sinks either into maudlin sentimentality or into the coldly cruel, is it not time to inquire, What *are* the ethical principles that should underlie those decisions?

First, the sentimental — talk about strange bedfellows! On this side one does indeed find the left — but right there alongside it are the libertarians ("free will" individualists), far-right businessmen such as the growers in the Southwest (who, above all, want cheap labor), and many Christians who incongruously believe in utopian open borders because we must love all mankind.

Perhaps libertarian philosophy professor James Hudson of Northern Illinois University best personifies this viewpoint, when he writes peremptorily that there is no "moral propriety in restricting immigration in any way." He counts, then, in political terms, "everyone," not "every citizen of my country."

In short, this position — extreme to be sure, given that the civilized world is just that *because* it has organized the world into nation-states — recognizes no right of the citizens of a nation to preference over illegal aliens.

The cruel group on the other extreme wants to close down the United States totally, but frankly this group is hardly ever heard from, largely because of the epithets of "racist" and "nativist" bandied about these days. Then we come to the increasingly predominant centrists who want to see the United States itself decide what it wants and needs in terms of immigrants.

Philosophy professor John Lachs of Vanderbilt University supported this position at a recent conference on the ethics of immigration in Los Angeles sponsored by the Carrying Capacity Network. Implicitly attacking "philosophers who love to disregard the actual," Lachs affirmed that our ethical "obligations are specific, focused on ... people who occupy some special position with respect to us." Our first duty morally is to our own parents, children and fellow citizens. Everything else is nonsense that confuses the philosophers' "purified air of the ideal" with the necessary political imperatives and responsibilities of the nation-state.

"Then we come to the increasingly predominant centrists who want to see the United States itself decide what it wants and needs in terms of immigrants."

When Professor Garrett Hardin, the renowned scholar on population and global capacity, looks at the ethical question of how and when to be "my brother's keeper," he is even more adamant about first principles and first responsibilities. "Traditional ethics has an answer to this problem," he has said. "Charity begins at home. Why the restriction? Because the greater the distance between donor and recipient, the

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more likely it is that well-meant charity will cause more harm than good."

Moreover, the ethical imperative grows ever more intense when we study the real outcome of pushing for uncontrolled immigration — and the concomitant lack of assimilation that invariably attends it. Because, as Hardin says, "when immigration is at a slow rate, cultural and linguistic distances can be overcome. But when immigration is very rapid ... the result is conflict."

As for the general altruism of loving everyone in the world and neglecting the reasonable welfare of one's own, perhaps Austrian economist Friedrich von Hayek demolished that pretense most effectively. Loving all the world is a "meaningless conception," he said, emphasizing that man can care only for specific individuals in concrete circumstances.

Moreover, the great diplomat George Kennan has written that, by absorbing the poverty of the Third World, the more prosperous society "is sometimes quite overcome, in the long run, by what it has tried to absorb." Any more prosperous society then diminishes itself so that it is no longer an example to the world, and necessarily diminishes the only hope that the poorer countries have to emulate and learn from.

Isn't it odd that a country stumbling over these watershed questions — all of them revolving directly or indirectly about what and who this "American" will become — should not be discussing what rocks we still stand on? ■

Those Unaware Lawmakers

Legislation restricting immigration was slow in being enacted although millions of Americans as early as the 1850s favored such restriction. Nativist organizations enrolled millions of members dedicated to the cause of immigration restriction, but legislation which significantly limited the number of immigrants did not become a reality until the 1920s. The cause of this lag is not at all mysterious. It inhered in the simple fact that legislators put foremost the interests of employers who sought an abundant supply of cheap labor. A copious supply of any commodity, which labor is when considered from the employers' standpoint, can always be purchased cheaply.

At the end of the twentieth century, the overwhelming majority of legislators still do not emerge from the class of employees. Although nine-tenths of the households represented by elected officials are dependent on salaries and wages, the overwhelming majority of elected officials are self-employed when they are elected to office, belonging to a class representing less that a tenth of the population. Most of them, moreover, are lawyers or businessmen active in commerce or finance. People in the latter fields have perennially welcomed almost any factor increasing the population of the U.S. More people, in their eyes, represent more clients, customers and borrowers. For most legislators, immigrants do not represent fellow slum-dwellers, fellow-homeless, or even competitors for employment.

— Brent A. Nelson in *America Balkanized: Immigration's Challenge to Government*, p.105 (Monterey, VA: American Immigration Control Foundation, 1994)

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Ed Koch is a former mayor of New York City. This article is from the New York Post *of September 23, 1994, and is reprinted with permission.*

Our Policy Is A Mistake on Every Level

By Ed Koch

President Clinton has said our stay in Haiti will be short. But that's what he said about Somalia, where we stayed for more than a year, sustaining many casualties, including deaths.

If we are lucky, our "peace-keeping" troops in Haiti won't end up in guerrilla warfare, but don't count on it. Already, our soldiers have had to stand silently by as the Haitian police continued to assault and murder citizens. Being physically present and doing nothing makes us a party to the atrocities. One of our soldiers summed it up best when he told *The New York Times*: "I'm disgusted."

I was struck earlier this week by former President Carter's statement that, while he was still in Port-au-Prince negotiating with the Haitian leaders, he had been "disturbed" to learn that 61 U.S. warplanes were heading to Haiti to begin a military invasion. I suspect he felt somewhat like Secretary of State Cordell Hull did on December 7, 1941, when he learned that Japanese planes were attacking Pearl Harbor while he was conducting negotiations with Japanese envoys. Not exactly parallel, but close. FDR said that was "a day that will live in infamy." How will that day in Haiti be described by historians?

The fact that the planes were called back should not end the debate on President Clinton's actions: Did he have the right to order the invasion without congressional authorization, or is it an impeachable offense?

If the United States had common-sense immigration laws, we wouldn't even have considered invading Haiti. In his "pep rally" speech last week, Clinton said, "Three thousand more Haitians — 5 percent of their entire population — are hiding in their own country. If we don't act, they could be the next wave of refugees at our door."

Norman Mailer once asked in a book title, "Why are we in Vietnam?" Millions of Americans are now asking, "Why are we in Haiti?" The answer: to prevent Haitians from fleeing to the United States. Undoubtedly, one of Clinton's fears is that in Florida, one of the major ports of entry for these refugees, voter backlash may help the Republicans win this fall's gubernatorial race.

The Clinton administration's current affection for the rights of Haitians is at variance with the way it distinguished between Cubans and Haitians. Cubans were encouraged to flee their country and were allowed immediate entry, while the Haitian refugees were not permitted to land in the United States. Most observers who are not Clinton sycophants would acknowledge the disparate, and disgraceful, treatment was racist.

"If the United States had common-sense immigration laws, we wouldn't even have considered invading Haiti."

I am not one of those who believe it is inhumane to limit the entry of anyone into the United States. Our immigration laws are already among the most generous in the world, allowing 1 million people to enter every year. Those laws, however, are not effectively enforced, and that is what is driving concerned Americans crazy.

Such frustrations have caused California Governor Peter Wilson to foolishly urge a constitutional amendment barring children born in the United States to illegal immigrants from having automatic citizenship. His extreme position stems from the fact that annually tens of thousands of Mexicans cross the border illegally. They are arrested by border-patrol officers and sent back, only to return again and again until they finally make it across undetected. They then fade into the community,

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burdening California's hospitals, schools and welfare programs.

While I was in Congress, the Jackson-Vanik legislation, denying economic loans and most-favored-nation status to the Soviet Union, was passed. Now that Russia no longer prevents its citizens from freely emigrating, that sanction has been removed, as it should have been. But what about Cuba? One couldn't blame Castro if he were puzzled. Where once our chorus to him was, "Let your people go," we now say, "Keep your people there." So, ironically, even if Cuba were to move toward democracy and a market economy, we still wouldn't grant if MFN status, because it's preventing its citizens from leaving — at our request.

President Clinton has engaged in another irrational immigration decision. Five years ago, President Bush issued an executive order allowing the Chinese entering the United States to claim political asylum here based on China's limiting the number of children allowed per family. The State Department recently informed me that, bizarrely, Clinton has ordered the continuation of that policy.

Here they come: 1 billion, 200 million Chinese, if they can get out of China. If that's our logic, we should, conversely, grant political asylum to every Irish national, because Ireland's constitution prohibits abortion.

It appears we are agreeing to an amnesty for the Haitian leaders who only last week Clinton described as "armed thugs who have conducted a reign of terror, executing children, raping women, killing priests." And Raoul Cedras says the agreement doesn't require that he go into exile. Will Clinton agree to amnesty for those in Bosnia who have engaged in ethnic cleansing, murder and rape? Will amnesty be given to those in Rwanda who are responsible for murdering perhaps 500,000 people in three months? Shouldn't all of these people, including the Haitian generals and their thugs, be charged and tried as war criminals in accordance with the principles of the Nuremberg trials?

We will now be spending hundreds of millions of dollars to occupy Haiti, and perhaps billions resurrecting its economy and infrastructure. Clinton should consider pouring that money, instead, into Washington, D.C., which has more murders annually per capita than Haiti. It wasn't too long ago that D.C. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly asked that the National Guard, the local counterpart of the 82nd Airborne, be sent there as "peacekeepers."

One final note: *The Wall Street Journal* reported this week that the "U.S. military will be feeding as many as 1.2 million Haitians a day." The day before, the Haitians were feeding themselves. ■

Christopher Tells Dangers of Rapid Population Growth

WASHINGTON (AP) — Secretary of State Warren Christopher says population growth jeopardizes American security interests and was a major factor in upheavals in Rwanda, Somalia and Haiti. He said that when population grows too quickly, "it strains resources, it stunts economic growth, it generates disease, it spawns huge refugee flows, and ultimately it threatens our stability." Christopher said Rwanda had one of the highest population densities in the world until last summer when ethnic strife claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. He also noted that Somalia has one of the highest birth rates in the world and Haiti the highest in the Western Hemisphere. "These population factors contribute fundamentally to the problems that all countries share, and they undermine the ability of these countries to provide a better life for their citizens," Christopher said.

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Reprinted with permission from the New York Times Large Type Weekly, *December 5, 1994.*

Cruising Illegally Into the United States

By Joel Brinkley

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA. — For illegal immigrants, getting into the United States can be as simple as climbing the gangplank of a cruise ship in the Bahamas and strolling off again in South Florida a few hours later—without ever showing proof of citizenship or exchanging even a word with an immigration service inspector.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service's own investigators found more than a year ago that foreign criminal gangs have used day cruises to the Bahamas as a virtual underground railroad for smuggling aliens and drugs into the United States.

"It's kind of a joke," said Marsha Lightsey Tivoli, who carried out dozens of "en route" inspections aboard ships that cruise to the Bahamas until she resigned from the immigration service last year. "There's no clear-cut way to say you've seen every person on that ship—or even really know who's on the ship."

A *New York Times* reporter traveling on the ship *Discovery I* of Discovery Cruises recently found that the loopholes of en route inspections remain wide open—even as the agency pours money and manpower into Southern California to keep illegal immigrants out, promising, as the Western Regional Commissioner of the immigration service put it last month, that "now we've taken the offensive."

Most international passengers arriving in the United States face greater scrutiny. At airports, they pass through an immigration checkpoint where inspectors can look at their passports and check their names against a computer data base. For most long international cruises, passengers are inspected when they step off the ship.

But for nearly all day cruises to the Caribbean, and even some longer ones, inspections are carried out en route. This procedure is also often followed on cruises from West Coast ports to points in Mexico, where it is equally haphazard.

Inspectors generally enjoy the work, said Allen McAtee, who was a senior inspector in Fort Lauderdale until he retired last summer. In fact, the Justice Department found that inspectors often took friends and family along.

For en route inspections, the immigration inspector usually boards the cruise ship in the morning with the passengers and generally retires to a stateroom provided without charge. When the ship docks in the Bahamas, the inspector is free to shop or swim as the vacationers do. Then, just after the ship sets sail again, the inspector starts working.

"...foreign criminal gangs have used day cruises to the Bahamas as a virtual underground railroad for smuggling aliens into the United States."

The inspector sits in a room and waits as an announcement over the ship's public address system asks all non-citizens of the United States to appear for an inspection. The inspector looks at the papers of the people who choose to come and pays no attention to anyone else. Any illegal aliens who have come aboard in the Bahamas can ignore the announcement.

Compliance is Voluntary

Two cruise lines, Discovery and Sea Escape, offer day cruises from Fort Lauderdale to the Bahamas four times a week year-around. On some days the ships carry 1,000 or more passengers.

The day cruises are among the most loosely regulated forms of international travel originating in the United States. Aboard these ships, compliance with immigration laws "is mostly a voluntary kind of thing," said Lloyd Lofland, supervisor of the anti-smuggling unit for the Fort Lauderdale office of the Border Patrol, an arm of the immigration service.

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The agency cannot say how widespread alien smuggling aboard the day-cruise ships really is or what nations most of the aliens come from. But a five-year undercover investigation by one of Mr. Lofland's Border Patrol agents found that day cruises had become a favorite way for criminal organizations to smuggle aliens and drugs into the United States.

"...the investigation showed that foreign criminal gangs used the cruises to smuggle their soldiers into the U.S. where they sold drugs, smuggled weapons, committed homicides, assaults, drive-by shootings, and other terror tactics..."

In fact, the investigation, Operation Seacruise, showed that foreign criminal gangs used the cruises to smuggle their soldiers into the United States, where they sold drugs, smuggled weapons,committed "homicides, assaults, drive-by shootings, and other terror tactics," a Border Patrol report said.

When Operation Sea Cruise ended in April 1993, at least 22 people had been convicted on Federal charges of alien smuggling, document fraud, drug trafficking or for related offenses. But the investigators found that the criminal rings simply smuggled in replacements on the cruise lines.

Joe Foster, the Border Patrol special agent who ran Operation Seacruise, said he took the results of his investigation to the cruise lines and his own agency.

Illegal Aliens Walk Off

Mr. Foster began work on Operation Seacruise in the autumn of 1987 after the Border Patrol started receiving reports of alien smuggling aboard the cruise lines. Over the next few years, he traveled to the Bahamas dozens of times.

He concluded that an organized ring was carrying out the smuggling and that its leaders seemed to prefer the day cruises largely because the price was so low, generally about $100.

As Mr. Foster described it, Bahamian gang members living illegally in Florida would obtain voter registration cards or some other false document and then board the ships pretending to be United States citizens. Before the ships docked in Freeport, the cruise lines gave each passenger a pass to take ashore. To reboard the ship, each passenger generally only had to show this pass.

Sometimes, Mr. Foster found, a dozen or more smugglers would be aboard. One would collect the passes and tickets from all the others, go ashore and then hand them over to aliens who had paid $1,000 or $2,000 to be smuggled into the United States. These people would then board the ship. Nobody counted to see if the number of people boarding was the same as the number who got off. In Fort Lauderdale, the illegal aliens would walk off. ■

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT On-Line

The text of **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT** is now available on-line. If you have access to a computer that is connected to a modem that is at least 2400 baud, you can find the table of contents for any issue of the journal and call up articles of interest. If you have questions or need instructions contact the editorial offices at (616) 347-1171. The bulletin board telephone number is (616) 347-2716, the log-in name is HSDEBATE and the password is CONTRACT. That log-in name was chosen because the topic for high school debates this school year is immigration reform.

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Mark Wegierski is a Toronto-based writer and historian. He is a frequent contributor to The Social Contract.

Canada's Converging Crises

By Mark Wegierski

I. Immigration Policy

In the long chronicles of human vice, folly, and stupidity, contemporary Canada seems to occupy a particularly prominent place. Nevertheless, 1994 has not been a good year for Canadian immigration-boosters (consisting of almost everyone in the political classes, the media, the academy, and the corporate elites). Critics of immigration (the submerged Canadian majority) found a number of galvanizing incidents on which to focus their opposition, as well as a few brave media personalities and politicians to voice their concerns. Even the hyper-liberal monthly *Saturday Night Magazine*, the paragon of "official" Canadian culture (which publishes about one right-of-center article per decade), recently came out with Daniel Stoffman's ground-breaking piece, "Refugee Fraud/Open Door Travesty" (November 1994).

The two most prominent incidents were the murder of a young Greek-Canadian woman in a fashionable downtown café, during a robbery carried out by four young, guntoting Jamaican males, and the murder of a police officer by a young, gunwielding, Jamaican male. In both cases it was found that the accused perpetrators had extensive criminal records, had been deported at least once, and were either illegal immigrants with unserved deportation orders, or else had recently been allowed to stay in Canada under lax provisions.

In the ensuing brouhaha over the two most prominent incidents, it turned out that there were possibly up to 40,000 persons who had criminal records, or had committed crimes, while waiting for acceptance by Canada. The problem was that the files with this information had been dumped into a remote warehouse — out of sight, out of mind. Immigration Minister Sergio Marchi responded by creating a small RCMP (federal police) section to handle the deportation of some 600 persons he described as "hardcore criminals", i.e. those who had been convicted of three or more violent offenses in the last ten years. At the same time, he ordered the fast-tracking of about 6,000 other refugee claims.

Canada's Immigration and Refugee Board is described as an institution plagued with problems. The Immigration and Refugee Board would not exist at all had not the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that all persons physically reaching Canada are entitled to a full hearing as refugee-claimants. (The court also mandated that all refugee-claimants should receive welfare payments, a food allowance, free medical and dental care, etc. Indeed, until some months ago, refugee-claimants were in fact formally *prohibited* from working.) In the wake of the Liberals' victory in October 1993, Prime Minister Chretien dismissed virtually all of the former Tory IRB appointees, and put in their place mostly long-time immigration activists, such as Michael Schelew, former Vice-President of the Canadian branch of Amnesty International. Recently, a member of the IRB quit, and alleged that Schelew had imposed "quotas" of an 80% acceptance rate on all boardmembers, and had severely berated them and threatened them with firing if they fell below that number. There is in fact an inherent bias towards acceptance, as rejection requires extensive written explanation, while acceptance requires none. In any event, the acceptance rate at the IRB has shot up to 90%. Earlier in the year, Schelew had also apparently sent a long memo to all IRB staff urging the fast-tracking of applications from such persons as refugees from rightwing regimes, homosexuals, and persons who were homeless in their countries of origin.

There was another minor scandal when an IRB member and long-time Liberal party activist candidly admitted that he had entered Canada illegally in the late Sixties, and had married a Canadian woman to stay in Canada, while leaving behind his wife in India. Although legally not required to do so, he resigned from his lucrative posting.

Commenting on the IRB scandal, respected TV commentator Mike Duffy pointed out that the yearly

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cost of the refugee-claim system, including the refugee-courts, legal aid costs paid to lawyers, and the welfare-payments, medical care, etc. for refugee-claimants amounted to a billion dollars, which is more than the United Nations spends on all refugee concerns in a year. (It would not be difficult to rack up such sums, as the average yearly salary of an IRB judge is about $85,000.) In a subsequent broadcast, Duffy estimated that the number of legitimate refugee claimants (according to UN criteria) was probably around two to three thousand, whereas some 25,000 persons had been accepted in the last year. In December 1994, Schelew was finally forced to resign, receiving a $100,000 separation package, while the government investigation into his activities at the IRB, which was just getting underway, was immediately called off.

The upshot of this accumulation of scandals was that Immigration Minister Sergio Marchi reduced total immigration targets for the next year by about 50,000 (to approximately 200,000) and promised a refocusing of immigration on "economic immigrants", who had latterly fallen to below 20% of total immigration. These would be the people with actual concrete skills and talents, as opposed to those under the "family reunification" category — which, until recently, extended to brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins, etc., as well as immediate family-members.

Some in the media blamed Marchi for retreating from immigration levels amounting to 1% of the current population, which had been offered in the Liberals' "Red Book" of campaign promises. For some reason, this 1% figure had become established as a virtually scientifically infallible optimum for immigration inflow.

It is important to recognize that Canada's population growth is the highest in the developed world. This is not because of any great strength in the loins of native-born Canadians, but simply because of a high immigration policy which has let in about a million persons, virtually all of them from non-European countries, in the last four years. Canada's population now being at 29 million, the "optimum" 1% would now be 290,000. Less than two years ago, Canada's population was about 27 million. All these immigrants also have children at a far higher rate than native-born Canadians. The latter group is in fact aging quickly, and has reproduced at far below replacement levels.

It was recently reported in the Canadian media that there were some 50,000 unserved deportation orders last year, for Toronto alone. This would suggest that the countrywide total could be about 100,000 per year. Judging by these figures, the number of persons who were accepted by Canada under false or specious claims, along with those who have committed crimes while in Canada, as well as those whose presence is wholly undocumented and thereby could be legally subject to deportation, might well be reaching a million persons. The extent to which illegal immigration is completely unmonitored is indicated by the fact — which the media at one point reported — that many illegal immigrants apparently were receiving income-tax refunds from the federal government.

"To restore some kind of stability to the immigration situation, levels of about 50,000 a year would be needed, and possibly a number of 'zero immigration' years to allow Canada to catch its breath."

The Reform Party's proposals to lower immigration to about 100,000 a year appear extremely moderate in the face of such a huge crisis. (Reform is today's conservative party in Canada, and the only major public-political group critical of high immigration policies.) To restore some kind of stability to the immigration situation, levels of about 50,000 a year (corresponding to those of Liberal Prime Minister Trudeau's last year in office in 1983) would be needed, and possibly, a number of "zero-immigration" years, to allow Canada to catch its breath. Some kind of effective instrumentalities would also have to be put in place for dealing with illegal immigration. As far as the refugee-claims issue, it would seem that merely adhering to the strictly-defined UN criteria (rather than creatively expanding them) would bring about a very substantial reduction in numbers.

It should hardly be surprising to point out that, in the last twenty-five or so years, there has indeed been a bias in Canadian immigration policy — definitively shifting away from traditional sources of

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immigration, and focusing increasingly on Third World and non-European countries. A colleague of mine who often visited Britain told me that, among the many people he spoke to, the general impression they had of Canada was of a country which was very grudging in its immigration admittance policy. The author has personally experienced the rejection of two tourist visa applications, which had been filed on behalf of Polish citizens, about a year-and-a-half apart. Stories are circulating that one out of 10 such visa applications are automatically rejected on a random basis. (The chances of this happening twice in a row, then, would theoretically be 1 in a 100.) It could be noted here that the Immigration Department, and many other parts of the federal government relating to these matters, are now themselves heavily staffed with visible minorities of comparatively recent Canadian citizenship, who doubtless skew all these various processes to a certain extent. (It could be pointed out further that Canadian citizenship is now available after three years of residence, and that the present-day Canadian citizenship requirements and exam are, quite frankly, a joke.)

"Few people remember today that all earlier immigrants to Canada were required ... to attest that they would not apply for welfare or other social services until five years after their arrival."

Few people remember today that all earlier immigrants to Canada, mostly Eastern and Southern Europeans, were required, as a condition of their entry, to attest that they would not apply for welfare or other social services until five years after their arrival. Canadian citizenship became available after five, not three years. Persons with criminal records, infectious diseases, and disabilities were simply kept out, and persons committing crimes in Canada were either automatically deported, or deported after completing their jail terms. There was no vast, bloated infrastructure of cost-free English as a Second Language (ESL) or skills-training or literacy classes, or of multifarious, government-funded social agencies catering exclusively to immigrants. (A good indicator of the extent of this infrastructure is the annual calendar of the Continuing Education Department of the Toronto Public School Board.) The author remembers well that when applying for some computer-skills training some years ago (while he was receiving Unemployment Insurance) he was turned down *flat*. It has also been forgotten, for example, that in the late 1940s, Canada had required veterans of the Polish Armed Forces—who had fought against Hitler since 1939—to work for two years on remote farms, as a condition of their entry. In such a situation, it is not surprising that tensions could easily mount between older white ethnic immigrants (and their children born in Canada) and the new crop of visible minority newcomers.

The Canadian State is probably in its terminal crisis. It lacks effective control of its borders; it has virtually no army (the defense budget is barely 7% of total federal government expenditures — and a further billion-dollar cut is proposed); and it appears to lack proper fiscal accounting of its expenditures. In an attempt to forestall an IMF intervention looming over the horizon, the federal government is proposing a series of comparatively modest budget-cuts. Although real cuts seem unlikely, the budget might well eventually be balanced — at the expense of property-holding pensioners (who also happen to be the least racially-diverse group in the population) — or their heirs. Taxes on RRSP's (registered retirement savings plans — Canada's last large permitted tax deduction), an inheritance tax, and a tax on total assets — are becoming moot. (One financial analyst has actually blamed the deficit on senior citizens.)

II. Quebec Separatism

In its September 1994 provincial election, Quebec, Canada's fractious French quarter, gave a resounding "No" to Canada, by voting in the avowedly separatist Parti Québécois as the provincial government, with a two-thirds majority of seats. (Although in popular vote, because of the peculiarities of the "first-past-the-post" electoral system, the PQ were ahead by less than a percentage point.) Led by the astute and urbane Jacques Parizeau, they just might succeed in taking Quebec out of the Confederation. They are assisted by the Bloc Québécois in the Federal Parliament, which had won 54 Quebec seats in the October 1993 election. A recent, sudden and completely unexpected blow to the

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Bloc, however, has been the tragic and near-fatal bout of their leader, Lucien Bouchard, with the extremely rare "flesh-eating syndrome" disease. The long march to a Québécois state seems virtually unstoppable and it is hard to imagine that any future Québécois state could be more liberal than Canada today. Some commentators are indeed frightened by a possible return to Québécois "tribalism". It should also be noted that Quebec, outside of West Montreal, is one of the most homogeneous parts of North America.

"The groups designated for preferential treatment in Ontario ... [include] somewhat curiously, francophones..."

Having recently gone out of Toronto for a visit to Central Ontario, the author was appalled by the extent to which the comparatively poverty-stricken countryside depends so heavily on the megalopolis. Everywhere beside the highways one finds pathetic little stands where residents try to eke out a living from the tourist trade. The average house in that area would probably be considered little better than a shack in Metropolitan Toronto. Unfortunately, today Toronto (plus a bit of Vancouver and Montreal) can be said to effectively equal Canada in terms of media and cultural power, in "the manufacture of public consent," and in the concentration of economic resources. (For example, the density of telephone lines in the greater Toronto area is such that it had to be split recently into two separate area codes.) The complexion of Toronto politics - imposed on the rest of the province and country - can be gauged from the fact that, in the recent municipal elections, most of the Left candidates triumphed. They were supported by most visible minorities; by most Southern European white ethnics; by the very large homosexual population, most of whom seem to be of British descent (Toronto is often called 'San Francisco North'); and, of course, by large numbers of British Canadians — some voting Left out of self-contempt, others doing so to maintain their privileged bureaucratic and union positions. The Jewish vote was probably split. East European white ethnics seemed to be the only major group not voting for the Left. This is at a time when the leftwing (New Democratic Party) Ontario government is at about 15% popularity, province-wide. One can be quite properly angry that ever-larger numbers of ever-more-dissimilar immigrants are streaming into the megalopolis, eager to enjoy all its amenities including ready-made infrastructures (once so painfully built up, mostly by British Canadians, in a harsh, pioneering environment), and able to wield a disproportionate and ever-increasing social and political influence, while the more homogeneous countryside is reduced to a despised periphery.

III. Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism or multiracialism is often said to be the natural outgrowth of social democracy or the welfare-state. Certainly, the Ontario NDP, by legislating such measures as affirmative-action quotas (called "employment equity") for all employers in the province with over 50 employees (which, it should be pointed out, most definitely includes all universities and other institutions of higher learning) is a strong supporter of such tendencies. It should also be stressed that the federal, and especially Ontario provincial and greater Toronto area municipal governments, and boards of education, have long practiced *de facto* employment equity, even when it was not in place *de jure*. (Going into almost any government office or high school staff room will quickly confirm this.) Canada's large banks, among the nation's foremost employers — now awash in profits they obtain by such measures as charging service-fees for simple withdrawals — have also cleaved early to employment equity, as visiting almost any bank branch in the GTA will show. The groups designated for preferential treatment in Ontario are women, visible minorities, aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities, and, somewhat curiously, francophones — who would typically be long-established Franco-Ontarians, about 5% of the population, who even have a distinctive flag to wave, combining the Ontario trillium with the Quebec *fleur-de-lys*. An interesting tidbit to be noted is that in the supporting regulations of the Employment Equity Act, on the map of geographic origins of ethnoracial groups — where a line of division was literally drawn between the designated and non-designated regions — Israel, as a country in Asia, was in the designated part. As all Jewish persons can claim ultimate origins in Israel, they might well end up being considered a

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designated group in terms of the legislation.

A recent issue of the Toronto *Star*, Toronto's most progressive, largest-circulation, and very profitable daily — reported without a hint of criticism how hundreds of consulting firms, most of them staffed and run by visible minorities, have now gone to work to assist large corporations in putting employment equity policies into practice. The extent of the Toronto *Star*'s toleration of dissent in these matters is indicated by the example of Haroon Siddiqi, their editorial page editor (i.e. the gatekeeper for the only *public* part of the paper), who asserted some time ago that anyone who thought that immigrants should in any way adjust to so-called Canadian norms (he professed his disbelief in such) was a "fascist." He has in fact been put in charge of a multiculturalizing policy at the *Star*, based on the logic that, if the somewhat inflated figure of 40% of Toronto's population are visible minorities, then 40% of the news-stories should deal with visible minorities. (Perhaps this quota of ongoing news-stories could be achieved in a fashion not quite intended by the *Star*!)

"...tough times are ahead for Canada and Canadians. Not only is there the severe immigration overload, but there are also the strains of economic globalization."

It should be also noted here for American readers that the incredible prominence given to black community issues in Toronto and Canada today is a very recent development without historical roots in this country — unlike the case in the United States, with its intractable historical problems arising from slavery. In fact, Toronto and Canada could have been places where black/white relations developed without negative historical overtones and recriminations, as some of the early multicultural theorists had hoped.

The overwhelming influence of the American situation, however, has been such that self-designated black community leaders have eagerly jumped on the victimological bandwagon — following their American cousins step by step — and Canada now has its own equivalents of Al Sharpton, *et al.*

IV. The Denouement

The situation in Canada reinforces the view that social democracy is meaningless and virtually impossible outside of a strongly homogeneous society, with a rooted and commonly-held sense of identity. If the disparate parts of today's multicultural Toronto have so little in common, the "common good" and "public sphere" is meaningless, and social democracy's (and various church groups') exhortative calls for charity, given the current welfare-state and immigration realities, generally amount to the massive transfer of resources from established, native-born Canadians (or from established, earlier immigrants, who had to work hard without any kind of government support) to indigent, and ever-more-numerous newcomers. Ironically, the ultimate result of a multicultural welfare-state is a shrinking of the broad middle classes (the small-property-holders and the working-classes), who are squeezed by a tiny state-managerial, therapeutic, and corporate elite from above, and increasingly large, and increasingly dissimilar, welfare-clientele groups from below. Contemporary Canada, Ontario, and Toronto should therefore properly be seen as hyper-liberal configurations, rather than as truly social democratic or even socialist ones.

In any event, tough times are ahead for Canada and Canadians. Not only is there the severe immigration overload, but there are also the strains of economic globalization. This is the day of the transnational corporation which can easily shift operations from country to country. Canadians may find themselves experiencing not only large Third World populations but also, increasingly, Third World living standards as well. The welfare-state structures so painstakingly built up (such as the vaunted Medicare) might well come crashing down. Also, as the political culture of Canada inexorably changes, there will be less and less of "peace, order, and good government," and more and more corruption, violence, and criminality. The long war waged by liberalism against decent, honest, law-abiding, and hard-working citizens will then come to fruition. Everyone will have to participate in the system of bribery and pay-offs to get anything done; no one will feel safe on the streets or in their homes. The "Brazilification" of Canada will then be complete in every aspect. ■

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Beyond Immigration

The Political Economy of Multicultural Society in Europe

By David Coleman

Immigration to Europe: A Late 20th Century Novelty

In the last 30 years Britain and other western countries have been transformed by Third World immigration into multiracial and multicultural societies. Governments and electorates have come to accept, with varying degrees of grace, the permanence of Third World settlement and therefore of a new degree of racial diversity in their population; that is, differences in color and appearance. Naturally, the immigrants also brought with them their own ethnic distinctions in religion, language, family relationships and way of life. Most wish to preserve them.

European countries have no wish for further mass immigration, which in the early 1990s has risen once more to very high levels. Indeed, until the revival of immigration to Europe in the mid-1980s, it was assumed that net migration from non-European countries would decline and that the main task facing Europe was to integrate immigrant populations which were increasingly, if reluctantly, accepted as settled in Europe. "Temporary workers," now joined by their families, had turned into permanent populations of foreign origin. Now the revival of (mostly unplanned) immigration has pushed immigration control to the top of Europe's political agenda and sharpened discussion on the integration of growing immigrant populations.

There is widespread agreement that those who have arrived, and their descendants, must be protected from discrimination and helped to participate in wider society. It has been more difficult to decide what further policy initiatives are appropriate. An earlier view was "assimilationist," assuming the fullest integration of immigrants and minorities, and the return of those disinclined to assimilate; an approach followed to some extent in Germany and Switzerland. In recent years, "multicultural" approaches have gained ground — notably in the Netherlands, Sweden and less overtly in the UK — to help immigrant populations to preserve their own languages, cultures and traditions in parallel with those of the host societies and thereby accept the rise of a culturally and ethnically corporate society. In the 1990s, such policies are in their turn encountering more resistance from Europe's electorates, if not from its elites. A third option is to adopt a color-blind policy which regards such differences as essentially a private matter in a polity where rights are tied solely to citizenship rather than to membership of any ethnic subdivision. This remains, at least in theory, the position in France.[1]

Diverse attitudes to these questions reflect diverse immigration histories. On the Continent, immigration from the edges of Europe, and then further afield, started in the late 1950s. It was often encouraged by employers, with the blessing of governments, to meet specific short-term labor shortages. No country except possibly France regarded itself as a "country of immigration." Instead, the "guest-workers" would return home once their employment or contract had ended. Unemployment could thus be avoided during the inevitable economic downturn. It was not imagined that families would join the workers in Europe, or even would wish to do so. Such recruitment of guest-workers was most elaborately organized in Germany and Switzerland. Other countries such as France and the Netherlands also recruited workers from outside Europe, although many entered informally or illegally and had their positions regularized later. Perhaps half the foreign workers in France entered in this way, for example.

Immigration to Britain started earlier, in 1948. It

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was not organized by government. There was some direct recruitment by the National Health Service, British Railways and others; not more than 10,000 and possibly not more than 5,000 in all.[2] Most immigrants came to no particular job.[3] While this migration is often thought to have had beneficial consequences, at least in the short run, its advantages were not given a high priority at the time and have never been thought worthwhile repeating. Its economic role was hardly mentioned in the Attlee cabinet discussions on stopping immigration in 1950, or in the debate on the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act[4] which attempted to limit the inflow for the first time.

Immigration to the UK from the Commonwealth was driven by economic opportunity in the UK, by pressures at home, and facilitated by cheap transport, colonial links strengthened in the war and above all by the absence of any entry controls on British subjects (Commonwealth citizens). Such free entry had some parallels in the free or easy entry to France and to the Netherlands of residents of some of their overseas territories, but not on the same scale as to the UK, where almost all non-European immigration was of this kind.

European Responses to Immigration

Primary mass immigration, which stopped all over Europe after the first oil shock of 1973, has not been deliberately resumed. Most (legal) labor migration from non-EU countries occurs through a work-permit system involving mostly skilled or professional workers, although Germany has resumed a limited form of trainee guest-worker migration from Eastern European countries.[5] Popular unease at the problems associated with immigrants is widespread and has been much sharpened by recent increases in the numbers of asylum claimants and other immigrants. Most European governments and electorates do not share the view — still popular in the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand — which welcomes the increase in population and potential labor force arising from continue immigration. European industry now needs fewer low-skilled workers and is projected to need fewer still.[6] Unemployment among existing immigrant workers is usually at least double that of the local population.[7]

Secondary immigration has continued on a large scale, on the Continent as in Britain, because large numbers of dependents have continued to enter, contrary to the original guest-worker idea. This "family reunification" migration is now being substantially supplemented, and indeed overtaken, by "family formation" migration of large numbers of immigrants entering for purposes of marriage. These marriages are often arranged with suitable spouses following the customs of the immigrant societies. It is clear that the right of access to Europe given by such a match is an extra attraction. In the 1990s, up to a third of immigrants to Europe have been asylum claimants. This is a major new channel of primary immigration. Although fewer than 10 percent are granted refugee status, almost all claimants (and their dependents) remain in Europe.[8] For the most part, asylum claiming is regarded as a form of economic or betterment migration, in some cases essentially the continuation of illegal immigration by other means.

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Large-scale programs of voluntary subsidized repatriation have been organized at various times by the governments of Germany, France, Netherlands and Belgium,[9,10] with varying success. In Britain a plan to assist those wishing to return to their countries of origin forms part of the 1971 Immigration Act. It offers slight compensation and much bureaucracy. It receives no publicity from the government and operates on a trivial scale.

European Responses to Immigrant Populations

Most EC countries divide their populations simply into citizens, and foreigners of various origins. Only citizens can enjoy such privileges as voting in elections, although the Maastricht Treaty extended voting privileges in local and EU elections to foreign citizens of other EU countries. It used to be assumed that immigrants who have acquired citizenship have committed themselves to their country of adoption, will speak its language and share common aspirations and loyalties (see, e.g.[10]). Now the granting of

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citizenship at an early stage of integration is urged as a means of integration, not a reward for it.

Most political and lobby-group pressure in Europe is directed toward the extension of the privileges offered to immigrant populations even if they have not become citizens,[11] and the modification of European law and practice to meet the needs of immigrant populations. The period of immigration coincided with an erosion of confidence in the traditional values of the host countries, which continues to this day. These values are in a state of flux as evidenced by declining religious affiliation, the rise of alternative family forms, high illegitimacy, and the acceptance of sexual unorthodoxy. Among the elite the superiority of Western ways is no longer assumed, indeed, often the reverse.

Multicultural Policies in the English-Speaking World

With the domestic culture and its virtues at a discount, it is natural to accept or even to encourage a "multicultural" society; one where no culture, ethnic group, language or religion has priority, but instead each develops in parallel. Such policy accepts that a federation of communities defined on ethnic lines may, and possibly should, be a permanent part of the social structure. These sentiments seem to be particularly well-developed in the English-speaking world. Australia, where such a policy was officially promulgated in 1978[12], has perhaps gone furthest down the multicultural road. The Australian policy reflected a wish to reject a British cultural dominance deemed obsolete, and instead to define a new non-British society.

"...recent Third World immigrants [to the U.S.] have been more resistent to assimilation. Many can easily keep in touch with their former homeland and family members, especially in Latin America."

In the U.S. the position at the federal level is less clear. Until the 1970s it was assumed that American immigrants would accommodate to American society, assuming a primarily American identity, retaining only a "symbolic" ethnicity. But U.S. blacks remain a race apart despite their long presence, and recent Third-World immigrants have been more resistant to assimilation. Many can easily keep in touch with their former homeland and family members, especially in Latin America.

A policy of non-discrimination, equal opportunity or positive discrimination, initially to advance the nation's black population following the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, embraces all ethnic minorities. Equal-opportunity and affirmative-action policies in recruitment and job protection which give advantages through quotas or other devices to ethnic minority applicants and employees, have become pervasive. As an extension to that, "anti-racist" and "anti-sexist" and cognate movements have gained ground in the U.S., especially in its universities. Such militant campaigning approaches seek to eliminate actions and language, deliberate or unintended, deemed to be derogatory to ethnic (or other) minorities. They demand a constant vigilance of one's own and others' behavior and conscience.

These enthusiasms go hand in hand with vigorous local multicultural policies. For example, some states (e.g. California) adopted the use of ballots in Spanish and Chinese, although their electorates have attempted to reverse such decisions. Some states and city schools now teach children in Spanish and other immigrant or minority languages. Others (at least 20 city school systems, according to press reports) have developed multicultural or "Afrocentric" syllabuses giving prominent emphasis to the cultural and technical achievements of, for example, black African or American Indian societies. Pupils learn of the discovery of the Americas by African navigators and of the key cultural role of the black African civilization of ancient Egypt. In such schools and also in some universities, standard works of literature, history and philosophy are discarded in favor of more culturally relevant models.

Critics claim that these educational innovations will handicap ethnic minorities, making them permanently dependent on affirmative action. Anti-racist and parallel movements in universities have become anti-intellectual and oppressive, interfering with freedom of speech, forcing courses to close and academics and others to resign through the

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enforcement of a new orthodoxy intolerant of a diversity of view on matters relating to race.

Britain Follows the U.S. Example

Many features of this U.S. pattern are now becoming familiar in Britain. The term "ethnic minority" is now used almost universally (it is little used officially in Continental Europe outside the Netherlands). There is already much emphasis on "anti-racist" programs by local governments, local education authorities and in some higher education courses, especially those training social workers and probation officers. There the depiction of Britain as an institutionally racist society is taken by some academics to be axiomatic, as if the view prevailed that racism can only be a "white" problem. In these circles an accusation of racism tends to be an answer to all arguments, comparable in moral obloquy and conclusiveness to an accusation of witchcraft in medieval times.

At the national government level, no specific policy has emerged. Conservatives might be expected to be against tribalism and ministerial speeches sometimes allude to the virtues of "one nation" and of integration, while also carefully stressing the rights of minority cultures. Occasionally, however, as at the beginning of the Rushdie affair, ministers have spoken more firmly about the need for ethnic minorities to accept the values of the host society.

The effects of legislation and public funding tend to favor multicultural development. An interventionist government cannot in practice ignore ethnic minorities once it has defined them by law. In that respect Britain is ahead of all other European countries except the Netherlands. In Britain the statutory Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) was created to police the Race Relations Act of 1976. Continental countries have tended to rely more on the interpretation of existing law to counter racial discrimination and hostility, e.g. Sweden, and do not have race relations legislation on the British pattern, while others (Belgium and France) have developed it less than in Britain.

The CRE has considerable powers to inquire into cases of discrimination and to bring prosecutions. Discrimination includes "indirect" discrimination, where there is no need to prove "intent." Almost any process whereby ethnic minority populations are under-represented may be regarded as a case of "indirect" discrimination — for example failing to meet standards of English required for employment which the CRE deems to be unnecessary. The CRE constantly presses for extensions to the definition of racial discrimination. Its powers to designate statutory ethnic minorities gives them limited privileges in legislation in the courts, in job recruitment and in access to certain kinds of subsidized housing. Not surprisingly, this has generated demand for further ethnic minority designation and has greatly increased the spread of ethnic monitoring, which is now, with government support, almost universal in the public sector. The extension of the powers of the CRE tends to promote a multicultural future for Britain.

"...the depiction of Britain as an institutionally racist society is taken by some academics to be axiomatic, as if the view prevailed that racism can only be a "white" problem."

The activities of other public agencies have similar effects. For example, until 1993 the government's Department of the Environment's Urban Program directed money specifically to ethnic minority organizations and enterprises as well as to inner urban areas where most live. The funding is handled by local authorities. Many urban local authorities share an ideology favorable to a multicultural society, seeing no need for assimilation to a "dominant" traditional culture which may indeed be regarded with hostility. They may also have noted the political advantages to be gained by targeting the ethnic vote with specially packaged and lightly monitored aid.

In this way the British government, and local authorities, have built mosques in Tyneside, Sikh temples in London, supported mother-tongue teaching in Urdu and other immigrant languages, and fostered community centers with their cultural and religious activities. Such facilities are effectively solely for the use of Moslems, Hindus, Sikhs and the black Christian churches. The stated aims of the program[13] made no mention either of multicultural development or integration, only of "meeting the needs" of ethnic minorities. Conservative Party propaganda has

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frequently pilloried "loony" Labor Party inner city expenditure on such projects. Not infrequently these turn out to have been supported by the Conservative Government's own Urban Program.

Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 provides 75 percent of the extra salary costs to local authorities with high ethnic minority concentrations. Eighty percent of the £110 million in expenditures and of the resultant 12,000 jobs is devoted to education, mostly English teaching, the rest to social services, housing and business. It was initially intended to assist in the teaching of English in areas with many immigrant school children. Local authorities have used it to serve other aims, including mother-tongue teaching. However this trend has to some extent been checked, as have the activities of the Urban Program and similar programs in the Netherlands and Sweden. In 1990, its role was redefined to include "breaking down barriers" to ensure that ethnic minorities can take a "full and active part in the life of the community" and "participate fully in the mainstream of national life."[14]

"The 'race relations industry' as it is derogatorily called by its critics, is one of the growth points of the British economy."

Schooling is an obvious opportunity for the integration of the children of immigrants. Schools are also an obvious battleground for conflicting ideologies. Without publicly adopting a policy to foster a permanently multicultural society in Britain, multicultural curricula have been developed by the Department of Education and imposed by some urban local education authorities (LEAs). Mother-tongue teaching has not been generally adopted, although some LEAs have done so.[15] The new ability of schools to opt out of local authority control (a policy not adopted for multicultural reasons) may make it easy for schools controlled by ethnic minority governors to preserve traditional and religious attitudes. Muslims, for example, are keen on opportunities to minimize the influences upon girls of an open society which they regard as immoral.

It is not surprising that formal policy in this area is undeveloped. Embarrassment and avoidance have been the usual elite responses to problems of ethnicity or race in Britain[16]. Race relations are claimed to be an overriding good. It is difficult to find a vocabulary or a moral or logical framework with which to challenge claims made in its name without sounding racist or reactionary. Sensible governments avoid trouble and hand over policy responsibility to others who know what they want, notably the local authorities.

At least 120 local authorities out of 400 now maintain a permanent staff of race relations officials. The "race relations industry" as it is derogatorily called by its critics, is one of the growth points of the British economy. Ethnic monitoring and other requirements, encouraged by government to reduce discrimination, are forcing public sector, business and voluntary bodies to devote increasing time and personnel to these issues. The total number of jobs is unknown. Such public expenditure by what is effectively a new nationalized industry, with effects so pervasive, would normally have attracted the critical attention of the privatizers, the official Audit Commission which investigates the affairs of publicly funded bodies, the radical think-tanks and all the other Thatcherite revolutionaries during the 1980s. Comparisons would have been made with overseas experience; hard questions would have been posed on their purpose, benefits, work force and costs. In fact, the result has been almost complete silence.

The aims, costs and outcomes (intended, desirable or not) on domestic and foreign policy and on national unity of all this government sponsored activity need closer scrutiny and unfettered public discussion. It may be that substantial assimilation, at least among second and third generation immigrants, is inevitable no matter how much money is spent on shoring up cultural differences. Alternatively, the desire among some immigrant communities to live apart may prevail. Either way, it does not seem to be a question on which government should be indifferent or public discussion discouraged. ■

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Conservationists and population activists have long argued that the first step in setting an immigration policy should be to establish a population policy: what is the maximum number of people we can support over the long term, and then what lesser number do we choose to aim for, to emphasize other values beyond simply stuffing our continent as full of people as possible? Sheila Newman reports on governmental efforts in Australia to ascertain the so-called "carrying capacity." Ms. Newman is president of the Victorian (Melbourne area) branch of AESP (Australians for an Ecologically Sustainable Population), one of that country's main immigration reform organizations.

Australia's Carrying Capacity

By Sheila Newman

"One Nation—Two Ecologies" is the subtitle of the recently published Australian government report entitled "Australia's Population 'Carrying Capacity'." The jacket illustration says it all, dividing the continent into a very large orange desert-dominated land and a much smaller series of habitable islands of green. The Committee for Long Term Strategies that conducted the inquiry into how many people Australia could comfortably support within and then beyond the next fifty years was an interparty one, chaired by the well-known parliamentarian and former TV whiz kid, Barry Jones. Jones has grown wiser since the heady days of the publication of his brilliant book, *Technology and the Future of Work*, where he told it as he felt it. He has since learned to hide his feelings.

It therefore came as no surprise that the report stopped just short of naming an optimum population figure, but instead gave seven scenarios (pp.144-145), three of which it rejected as extreme, and only one of which it rated as having any strong community support and which would be the least difficult to achieve: the "stable population option" — 17-23 million people. Any doubt about this was banished when Mr. Wakelin, Member of Parliament and member of the committee, let slip the following statement in Parliament on August 12, 1994: "The committee found that the most likely optimum population for Australia is 23 million" (*House of Representatives, Daily Hansard,* p.4570).

If the report is coy about its preferred population size, the facts elaborated lead the reader almost inexorably to the conclusion that in order to consolidate what Australians have, at near to current lifestyle and at present technology, population growth needs to stop. Although the report examines the possibility of a larger population with much lower resource use, the fact remains that Australia has so far been unable to manage to lower resource use and consumption with the population it already has.

When discussing the big population option, the report notes that "there are practically no suggestions as to how quality of life might improve with population growth. While there are many ways in which the intensification of land use which accompanies population growth can be argued to impair quality of life, the reverse is rarely or never argued" (p.73). In addition it criticizes the discipline of economics for restricting its focus to the short and medium term. "Economics has little to say about the economic benefits of population growth in the long term" (p.74).

Recommendation #1 makes the strong statement that "political and administrative responsibility for population and immigration must be separated" because they have different goals and because "the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs is seen ... as being in the advocacy business in immigration matters and as lacking the necessary objectivity to determine population matters" (p.82).

Recommendation #10 calls for an explicit population policy and warns that "Proponents of radical change should bear the burden of proof, bearing in mind that every increase in population imposes social and environmental costs..."

Recommendations 11,14 and 15 advise that Australia should move away from its high consumer economy and recognize the impact of immigration on its indigenous population of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, and promote environment-sparing technological development and use, as a matter of high national priority.

The report stresses the dire need for a solid and

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comprehensive data base from which to project in detail the consequences of various population scenarios. As Barry Jones has said, "Otherwise we are trying to argue imponderables with imponderables." Public education is very poor in conveying the kinds of facts required to calculate the effects of population growth, and the report noted a lack of understanding in the community that the population growth of a few million that may occur over just a few years will take centuries to reverse (p.145).

Although the report is willing, at least nominally, to give consideration in its scenraios to a population as high as 50 million at subsistence level, elsewhere (p.39) under "Resource Constraints on Population Growth," it suggests that Australia should allow for a run of bad growing seasons, placing the figure at 30-35 million people if there are food constraints. It does concede, at least in theory, the possibility of importing food in cases of scarcity, but warns that world stability cannot be guaranteed: "However it is also difficult to be confident that food could be imported for such numbers under terms of trade implying real food prices akin to today's food prices. This would depend on levels of non-food exports and the supply and demand for food on world markets in a much more populous but still orderly world" (p.40).

The report says that failure actively to choose a path is tantamount to choosing a scenario where "uncontrolled mass migration could be imposed on Australia either militarily or via an avalanche of illegal immigration... This is because the status quo is that Australia's population is currently growing rapidly (doubling every 30 to 40 years) and the short term political pressures for this to continue seem to be stronger than any countervailing pressures" pp.116-117).**

The recent decision by the Australian Federal High Court (reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* editorial of December 12, 1994, "Fear of Sterilization" p.12) allowing a Chinese couple to remain in Australia as refugees because of their fear of forcible sterilization if they returned to China, raised extremely difficult questions. Apart from the fact that there is no state policy in China of forced sterilization or abortion, and despite whatever abuses by local officials alleged there, acceptance of this couple's allegations in theory lays open the way to over a billion refugees from China. To put the situation in perspective, Australia's total population of about 18 million is equivalent to China's annual increase.

Throughout the report the need for democratic discussion and consultation to determine Australia's long term population was emphasized. This approach stands in contrast with that of the Australian Immigration Minister, Senator Bolkus, and the Ministry for Immigration, where seemingly arbitrary decisions have been handed down from on high and there has been an absolute refusal to discuss immigration policy which impinges so heavily on population numbers.

The report, "Australia's Population 'Carrying Capacity', One Nation — Two Ecologies" is a very thorough work and an immensely valuable beginning to Australia's national data base on population, environment and quality of life. Although it is not perfect, it provides a basis for open and informed national debate.

Indeed this may be the first such attempt by a First World nation to evaluate a country's carrying capacity on the basis of reasoned analysis. Australia has a recent history of following American political and social trends. Perhaps this is one trend America might consider following.

Government protocol deems that the report should be dealt with and debated within six months of its release, but there is every danger of its being swept under the carpet unless Australians keep bringing it to the attention of their social and professional bodies, their local members of parliament, and the press. Perhaps the best way to do this is to bring it to the attention of the rest of the world. ■

** I have not been able to obtain a comment regarding the basis for this doubling time, which is much faster than projected by AESP. Perhaps it is based on figures for other than permanent residents.

Copies of the report are available for purchase for Aus$16.95 from the Australian Government Publishing Service at 347 Swanston Street, Melbourne, Australia 3000, (613) 663-3010. Ask for catalog number 9429067. Copies are also available from The Social Contract Press. Call to inquire: (616) 347-1171.

To contact the Victorian branch of AESP: Phone (613) 783-5057, FAX (613) 783-4556, or write P.O. Box 1173, Frankston, Victoria, Australia 3199.]

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We continue our reporting on immigration hot spots around the world. The following article appeared in The Wall Street Journal *(Barron's) issue of October 31, 1994 and is reprinted with permission.*

The Unchosen

By Amy Dockser Marcus

TEL AVIV — Since its founding, Israel has guaranteed citizenship to any Jew who requested it. Now, some frustrated Israelis are ready to renege on that promise.

Isaac Groisman is one reason why. In Russia, the 65-year-old Mr. Groisman, an alcoholic and a petty thief, slept on benches in public parks. As a new immigrant in Israel, he has a room in a state geriatric hospital and is on the waiting list for a spot in a senior citizens' home. In Russia, Mr. Groisman supported himself by picking pockets. In Israel, he receives a monthly pension, health insurance and a cash grant to cover expenses for his first six months. Israel also pays the nearly $100-a-day cost of his hospital stay.

Mr. Groisman's two children live in the U.S. and, he claims, won't have anything to do with him. So why should Israeli taxpayers support him?

"I'm sick," Mr. Groisman replies. "And I'm a Jew."

Generous Perks

For more than four decades, that has been enough to ensure Mr. Groisman and others like him the right to relocate here. Israel's Law of Return, the cornerstone of the state's vision of itself as the Jewish homeland, guarantees free immigration to all Jews, except those who pose a threat to public safety. (Mr. Groisman wasn't considered a threat.) It also gives those immigrants numerous benefits, which can include rent subsidies and below-market mortgages, free vocational training, cash stipends for household purchases, and free health insurance for six months.

Many of the immigrants who have come here are professionals who have helped boost the economy. But as Israel's standard of living has risen, so has the number of immigrants who are aged, infirm or in dire need, with most coming from the former Soviet Union. Many Israelis now fear that Israel is becoming a dumping ground for the impoverished, and a magnet for those with tenuous links to Judaism but a powerful hankering for an easier life — or for a free ride. They want to abolish open immigration.

"I cannot see, even with the best will in the world, why I as an Israeli have to hold an open house for all those who want to come from abroad whenever it suits them," says Mansfred Gerstenfeld, an international industry and business consultant from Jerusalem. "If we give Israeli citizenship immediately to any Jewish comer, we devalue it."

The immigration law was enacted in the wake of the Nazi Holocaust, when many nations were unwilling to take in Jews fleeing Hitler-occupied Europe. It serves as a moral contract that Jews will always have a place of refuge. The law grants automatic citizenship to any Jew, including anyone who has at least one Jewish grandparent or who has converted to Judaism. Spouses and children also are allowed in, even if they aren't Jewish.

Soul of the State

Labor Minister Ora Namir recently suggested that honoring that contract will come at the expense of helping native-born Israelis. She specifically criticized the number of elderly Russian Jews arriving without families and in need of massive assistance. Her stance prompted a flood of supportive phone calls.

But outraged fellow cabinet members passed a resolution reaffirming open immigration. In a public rebuke, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said "*aliyah*," the Hebrew word for immigration, "is the soul, the raison d'etre of the state. There is no such thing as selective aliyah, and God help us if we get to that."

Still, as the new immigrants put an increasing burden on Israel's welfare system, the country is quietly attempting to weed out the undesirables. Officials at the Jewish Agency, a quasi-governmental group that helps screen and assist new immigrants, say their emissaries abroad now actively discourage those likely to become a burden on society from immigrating. The agency also won't provide financial

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assistance in some instances.

"We tell them, 'You are sick or old, you'll need to go to an old-age home and there is a waiting list, things will be difficult,'" says Arnon Mantver, director-general of the agency's immigration and absorption department in Jerusalem. Yet all the agency can do is discourage undesirables. It can't stop them from coming. And once they arrive, it can't deprive them of citizenship or the benefits that follow.

More Aggressive Action

The agency, which sometimes pays for immigrants' air fare, has been especially aggressive in the former Soviet Union, where 15 percent of the immigrants are over age 65, even though the elderly make up only 8 percent of the population of the former republics. It launched a program that targets younger Russians, with marketable job skills, for immigration. It also has urged humanitarian groups to build old-age homes and to establish more social services for the elderly in Russia, in the hopes that more seniors will stay put.

"I cannot see, even with the best will in the world, why I as an Israeli have to hold open house for all those who want to come from abroad whenever it suits them."

But Israel is still the best alternative for people like Mikhail and Ida Korenberg, both 73. A few years ago, while the couple was living in their native Azerbaijan, Mrs. Korenberg had a heart attack. With little money for medical care, Mrs. Korenberg says, the doctors at her local hospital ignored her, sanitary conditions were abysmal, and "I was given a bed that had no mattress ... and it broke when I lay down on it."

In 1991, the couple emigrated to Israel. Since then, Mrs. Korenberg has undergone three operations — at the state's expense — for breast cancer and ovarian cysts. Mr. Korenberg, a former history professor, has had a prostate operation; the Israeli government also paid for that.

"We wanted to be useful here," he says, with downcast eyes. "But it's too late for that."

Geriatric Overload

In less than 50 years, Israel's population of people age 65 and older has tripled to 10 percent, an unprecedented pace for an industrialized country. Today, 400 of the 6,300 patients in long-term- care state institutions are new immigrants. Geriatric experts say the number will double over the next two years, as the three-year government subsidies given to new immigrants who care for elderly relatives at home runs out — and as those patients turn to the state for help. Pressures are already so severe that there aren't enough doctors trained to cope with them.

To close the gap, Shmuel HaRofe Geriatric Medical Center outside Tel Aviv, supported by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, is offering intensive geriatrics training courses to new immigrant doctors — many of whom are Russians with Russian patients. "We get many patients who land in Israel and are brought here straight from the airport," says Arthur Leibowitz, head of the long-term-care geriatric ward at the 355-bed medical center. He adds that many of the immigrants arrive with untreated hip fractures, cancer and tuberculosis. "They come to Israel to get proper care."

The Christian Contingent

Many of these immigrants don't even consider themselves Jewish. Some 29 percent of last year's 76,410 immigrants declared themselves non-Jews on their citizenship applications, according to Israeli government statistics.

Philip Dubinsky, a 70-year-old immigrant from Kiev, for example, is a Protestant, and so is his 56-year-old wife. But his mother was born Jewish. So, three years ago, with his health rapidly deteriorating, he and his wife moved to Israel.

In the corner of his room in a Jerusalem hostel for new immigrants stands an oxygen tank; his spine is so twisted that he has trouble breathing and he can only fall asleep in a kneeling position. "We came here because it is our only chance to survive," says Mr. Dubinsky, who says the couple's pensions from Kiev couldn't pay for the kind of medical care they required. "Israel should help people no matter what religion they believe in."

The Lost Tribes

Among the most controversial of all the new immigrants are those claiming to be members of the so-called lost tribes. There are about a million Indians

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who believe they are descended from the Israelite tribe of Manasseh, which was expelled by the Assyrians 2,700 years ago. About 5,000 of these members try to follow religious rules listed in the Bible — including animal sacrifices. Some Africans, Afghans and others also believe they are lost-tribe descendants. At least 200 lost-tribe members have come to Israel in the past two years and can become citizens if they formally convert to Judaism.

Nissim Maloon, for example, is a 22-year-old tribe member from Manipur, a state on India's border with Burma. He was finishing up a political-science degree at an Indian university when he decided to move to Israel 18 months ago, saying that only in Israel can he properly follow all the religious commandments. Now he works six hours a day as a farm worker, and spends the rest of his time studying Hebrew and Jewish religion and customs.

Looking for the Good Life

Israeli governmental and rabbinical leaders reject the tribe members' claim that they are Jews. Uri Gordon, chairman of the Jewish Agency's immigration and absorption department, contends that most are attracted to Israel by the high standard of living — not by the chance to live in a Jewish state.

Mr. Gordon believes the latest wave of immigrants is stretching Israel's Law of Return to the breaking point. Acting on his own, he has launched a high-profile campaign to revoke a 1970 amendment that gives citizenship rights to anyone with a Jewish grandparent. He has held meetings with Parliament members about the issue and lobbied rabbinical leaders. Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin and other members of Parliament also have issued public statements calling for changes in the law.

Israel, says Mr. Gordon, can no longer allow itself to grant automatic entry to people "who could change the face of the country. We're a small nation. We have to protect ourselves."

Impossible Choices

This new rallying cry is echoing through Kiryat Gat, a sleepy desert town in southern Israel. Since its founding in 1955, the town has absorbed immigrants from more than 40 countries, including Ethiopia, India, Morocco and Tunisia. In 1989, as the gates of the Soviet Union opened, local officials eagerly drew up plans to help absorb the latest wave of immigrants, expecting to take in 1,000 families over three years. Instead, they were deluged by newcomers, many of them elderly and infirm, who have caused the town's population to more than double in four years to over 44,000.

"[The mayor of Kiryat Gat] informed...the agency that oversees immigrants that new immigrants on welfare are no longer welcome to move to his town."

Welfare department head Georgette Erez says her days are now spent making impossible choices. Should her department fund the salary of a home assistant for a disabled new immigrant, or buy hot meals for out-of-work Israeli families? The desperate needs of her new charges have come at the expense of solving the problems of veteran Israelis, and she increasingly finds herself explaining to people who have served in the Israeli army and whose families have been in the country for two generations why she can't help them."I can't give them what I don't have," she says.

With the town's welfare department on the verge of collapse and tensions between veterans and new immigrants running high, Kiryat Gat's mayor took matters into his own hands. He informed the Ministry of Absorption, the government agency that oversees immigrants, that new immigrants on welfare are no longer welcome to move to his town. To emphasize his point, he refused to turn on the water at 23 government-owned apartments in Kiryat Gat reserved for new-immigrant single mothers until the ministry agreed to also provide subsidized housing for veteran Israelis in the town.

After years at the forefront of immigration absorption, Kiryat Gat's gates, once open to all, are swinging closed. "We were embarrassed to say we can't accept everyone. We thought, how can we say we don't want aliyah?" says Ms. Erez. She now counts herself among those who want to see the country's immigration policies changed. Maybe then, she says, "it will be easier to say, 'Excuse us ... but we can't take you anymore.'" ■

[*Editor's note: See the related articles, pp 108-118*]

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Next: Free Movement of Labor?

By Brian Toohy

[Editor's Note: *This item is of note because of its topic — the view of the outgoing and incoming presidents of Mexico, and of six Central American countries' presidents, that there should be free trade in labor under NAFTA and GATT — was not reported in the United States during the time leading up to Congressional vote last December on the GATT treaty. Note that the report comes from Australia, where one of our colleagues clipped it. The point is that the American press, which generally supported GATT, was apparently loath to report anything that might have argued against passage. We reprint this for its historic significance even though the meeting it discusses is now old news.*]

The discomforting logic of the case for freeing up trade in labor is about to make it onto the international agenda.

So far, tough restrictions on migration have remained sacrosanct in a world in which barriers to the free movement of capital and merchandise have been falling amid much applause.

Now, the next step in the logic of market liberalization — lowering barriers to the free movement of labor across borders — will be raised at the summit of western hemisphere leaders in Miami on December 8-11.

The summit will bring together 33 leaders of North, Central and South American countries. (Cuba's Fidel Castro will be the only one missing.)

The aim of the summit is to bolster moves to free up trade and investment between western hemisphere countries following the example set by Canada, the U.S. and Mexico in establishing the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

As far as the U.S. is concerned, free trade in labor is not supposed to be on the agenda in Miami. But the new California law (Proposition 187) barring health and education services to children of illegal migrants has insured that the topic will be raised.

The Honduran president, Carlos Reima, has announced that he and five other Central American leaders will ask President Clinton to review the California law.

Although the outgoing Mexican president, Carlos Salinas, acknowledges that Clinton has no power to overturn a state law, he argues that Proposition 187 violates the spirit of NAFTA.

Salinas' attitude is of continuing importance as he is a leading candidate to head the new World Trade Organization which will start policing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

According to Salinas, the time has come to negotiate a freer flow of migrant labor in much the same way as NAFTA negotiated a freer flow of goods and investment.

"Salinas' attitude is of continuing importance as he is a leading candidate to head the new World Trade Organization which will start policing the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs next year."

The new Mexican president, Ernesto Zedillo, who takes office today, made it clear in a meeting with Clinton in Washington last week that he shares Salinas' views on migration.

Under NAFTA — and the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation forum (APEC) — trade in services, such as banking, law and insurance is to be liberalized. But this is not supposed to extend to cross-border trade in low-skilled labor — only to its output.

Washington officials hope that NAFTA will eventually boost Mexico's economic growth sufficiently to entice its workers to stay home rather than cross the border illegally to look for work in the U.S.

Meanwhile, illegal immigrants remain politically unpopular within the U.S. despite the fact that many Americans take advantage of the cheap farm produce and personal services they provide.

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The decline in living standards experienced by middle- and low-income Americans over the past 15 years has created understandable resentment about paying taxes to deliver education and health care to families of illegal immigrants.

Although average wages have been falling in the U.S. in real terms since 1979, they still have a long way to go before they converge to Latin American standards.

Given that the Mexican minimum wage of US$4.25 a day is only equivalent to the U.S. hourly minimum, the incentive to slip undetected across the Rio Grande is likely to exist for many years to come.

Any long-term tendency for wages to converge may be further delayed if the new Republican House Leader, Congressman Newt Gingrich, can implement his promise of a national deportation system that is "very efficient and very fast."

The difficulty of finding jobs for returning deportees has prompted Mexican business leaders to call for greater downward flexibility in local wages and conditions.

A cut in wages is not what Mexico's workers were promised under NAFTA, so it is little wonder that its political leaders want to link liberalized migration laws to free trade.

As Mexico is also a member of APEC, the debate is not likely to be confined to the western hemisphere. The Mexicans will find that the U.S. is not the only country where many of the most vociferous proponents of the free movement of goods and capital are reluctant to extend this principle to labor.

Within Australia, for example, some commentators and politicians who are quick to brand attempts to limit import of goods produced with child labor as "disguised protectionism" are also among the most fervent supporters of extremely tight limits on the importation of migrant labor—child or adult.

Australian opinion leaders will have to start confronting the logic which says that if one factor of production, capital, is to be highly mobile in the global marketplace, then so too should labor. ■

Invoking the Deity

Before a recent Democratic Party dinner in Southern California, the Rev. Jerald Stinson of Pilgrim United Church of Christ in Carlsbad, California prayed. According to the Fall 1994 issue of *The Witness*, a bi-monthly publication of the "confessing" movement within the UCC (P.O. Box 102, Candia, NH 03034, (800) 494-9172), the *San Diego Tribune* reported Stinson's prayer as beginning with a long, inclusive address to God:

> *Eternal Spirit of love, known to us by many names, pictured with many images, described by many metaphors — revealed to us by Moses and Jesus, by Mohammed and Buddha, by wise native American sages and Hindu mystics — cherished in the parenting images of both father and mother, source of nurture and sustenance, worshipped in the many diverse traditions of the world's living religions...*

But the body of Stinson's prayer was notably exclusive of the possibility that people with whom he disagreed on immigration issues might have a righteous point or two to make, as he asked God:

> *...to turn our bombs into school books, to turn our fear of others into dialogue, to turn our English-only, immigrant-bashing narrowness into a celebration of the beauty of diversity...*

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From the January 1995 newsletter of the English Language Political Action Committee.

Court Strikes Down Arizona Official English Law

On December 7, 1994, a federal appeals court in San Francisco struck down the Arizona Official English constitutional amendment, saying that government employees have a First Amendment-protected right to choose the language they will use on the job. The U.S. District Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit decided that a government may "encourage" the use of English by government workers performing official actions, but may not compel it.

The constitutional amendment was adopt by the voters in November 1988 after an initiative drive led by Arizonans for Official English. The initiative declared English the official language of Arizona, and said that almost all official actions had to be in English. Government workers were required to use English for official acts.

Four Arizona courts have upheld the constitutionality of the initiative. The Arizona Attorney General has also said that the initiative was constitutional if it only applied to official acts.

The day after the election, Maria-Kelly Yniguez filed suit in federal court to have the law declared unconstitutional. Yniguez was a state worker who wanted to write official documents in Spanish even though her supervisor couldn't read Spanish.

The federal trial court in Phoenix agreed with Yniguez and declared the initiative unconstitutional in 1990. The then-governor of Arizona, Rose Mofford, who had opposed the Official English initiative, refused to appeal the decision. Arizonans for Official English and its chairman, Robert Park, then intervened in the case to defend its initiative.

The appeals court decision, written by Judge Stephen Reinhardt, is the first to find a First Amendment right to choice of language on the job. Reinhardt found that choice of language is speech, protected by the First Amendment. "Language is by definition speech, and the regulation of any language is the regulation of speech." Yet most observers believe that the First Amendment protects only the *content* of speech, not the mode of expression.

Reinhardt also said that a state must provide services in a language other than English if it is "normal" to do so, and if government services claimants want those services. Many other courts have found that in the Equal Protection and Due Process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment do not require government to provide services in languages other than English. Reinhardt overruled these 14th Amendment cases in his decision.

Reinhardt declared that providing non-English information protects the claimants' "right to receive" information. Prior cases held that the 'right to receive' information applies only to commercial advertising, not to government services.

This new First Amendment right to choice of language will affect every language-related law in the country. Current non-English activities (like bilingual education and bilingual ballots) would be protected by the new First Amendment rights. Current state declarations that English is the official language would be vulnerable to lawsuits that they unconstitutionally affect government workers' free speech rights. New Official English declarations would be barred by the first amendment.

This is not Reinhardt's first attempt to strike down an official English rule. In 1988 and 1993, he wrote opinions which would have allowed employees to hurl racist insults in Spanish at their co-workers. In the 1988 case, involving an Orange County, California municipal court clerk, Reinhardt suggested hiring bilingual supervisors to replace the African-American employees who were concerned about the racist insults. Both earlier Reinhardt opinions were rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Arizonans for Official English Chairman Robert Park says he intends to appeal Judge Reinhardt's decision to the U.S. Supreme Court, if necessary. As a first step, Arizonans for Official English has asked other judges on the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals to review Judge Reinhardt's decision.

Mr. Park is also chairman of English Language Advocates (ELA). He may be reached at 4870 Butterfly Drive, Yavapai Hills, Prescott, AZ 86301. Phone (602) 778-5811, fax (602) 778-2432. Tax-deductible contributions to ELA to pay for the appeal are urgently needed and may be sent to ELA, 316½ E. Mitchell St., Suite 4, Petoskey, MI 49770. Copies of the court's 23-page decision are available for $5.00.

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Daniel Abel has his Ph.D. from the Scripps Institution of Oceanography. He teaches in the Department of Marine Science at Coastal Carolina University, Conway, South Carolina.

Toward 150 Million Americans

Book Review by Daniel C. Abel

A friend of mine, a part-time stand-up comedian, has but a single version of his performance. It is far easier to find a new audience, he explained, than a new routine. Similarly, most of the content and message of *How Many Americans?* is not new to population scholars. What is fresh is that the authors, both population experts, have written a provocative analysis of both present and projected population growth and the resulting societal and environmental effects that is very convincing, and have packaged it in a thoroughly readable, compact publication. If this book finds its way into the hands of the public, educators, and policy makers, then perhaps at long last meaningful, reasoned discussion of population — the real parent of all environmental issues, if you will excuse the pun — can begin.

HOW MANY AMERICANS?
POPULATION, IMMIGRATION,
AND THE ENVIRONMENT
by Leon F. Bouvier
and Lindsey Grant
Sierra Club Books (1994)
174 pages, Hard cover, $18.00

The approach of the authors is simple and direct. They examine the current population of the U.S. (261 million) and assert that by any standard we have already exceeded our carrying capacity by as many as 100 million. A 4-page section entitled *The Statistics of Degradation* presents a litany of population-related environmental problems (e.g., acid rain, erosion, loss of old-growth forests). Critics might find the presentation oversimplified and superficial and the conclusions too sweeping (e.g., *Our agriculture and household wastes are poisoning the wetlands and wiping out our coastal fishery* [p. 15]), but hardly controversial.

Here is where the authors truly do the non-specialist reader a service. Many Americans, even the college-educated, display a fear of numbers that hinders their ability to understand complex issues, including environmental ones. The consequences of this fear are an inability to evaluate critical data, and a reliance on others, such as sophistic radio talk-show hosts and demagogues, for opinions. In *How Many Americans?* only the most essential, widely-accepted numbers are given, and they are repeated frequently enough so that they should become incorporated into the reader's memory, or at the very least become familiar. They include: current annual rate of population growth in the U.S., 1.3%; total fertility rate for non-immigrant Americans, 1.9; for first-generation immigrants, 2.7; current yearly immigration: about 1 million, plus 300,000 illegal aliens who settle permanently in the U.S. illegally each year. (The Total Fertility Rate [TFR] is the *completed* family size — the total number of children born. Replacement fertility is an average of 2.1 children per couple.)

In chapter 4, *Alternate Demographic Futures*, these rates are used to project the U.S. population into the next century under four basic scenarios: doing nothing, reducing fertility, reducing immigration, and reducing both fertility and immigration. The percentage that each variable is reduced in the projections varies, and is not unrealistic (e.g., total immigration reduced by about 50% to 500,000, or 80% to 200,000). What emerges from these calculations and projections is that any effort to maintain our current population level into the future or reduce it cannot be successful without decreases in both fertility and immigration. These conclusions should come as no surprise to readers of *The Social Contract*, but they may be new to those not participating in the population debate. To reach the author's optimum population of 150 million by the end of the twenty-first century, fertility must decline to 1.5 (perhaps an unrealistically low number) and total immigration must be reduced to 200,000 annually, according to the authors.

The final chapter, *The Diverging Roads Ahead*, compares the laissez-faire approach to population control to one emphasizing managed reduction by

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decreased fertility and immigration. Again, the argument is made that doing nothing is likely to have dangerous, perhaps irreversible repercussions.

A few words on the presentation of the immigration issue are in order. Immigration reform creates very strange bedfellows (not unlike the GATT-induced Ralph Nader-Patrick Buchanan affair). It is also an issue where latent or conspicuous racist or xenophobic motives cannot be successfully camouflaged. With only a few exceptions, the authors deal with this issue skillfully and sensitively, labeling it as the moral dilemma that it is. In fact, the discussion makes it legitimate for a leftist in good standing to favor controlling the U.S. population by, among other things, cutting both legal and illegal immigration, without ideologically sleeping with Rush Limbaugh or Newt Gingrich.

"...there is so much more verification of the effects of immigration on population levels that one is left with little choice but to accept that we cannot correct our course without immigration reform."

If the presentation on immigration had not been objective throughout almost the entire book, I would have been suspicious about a few questionable statements, such as: *Just as some Americans are "pro-children" but value quality over quantity, so too some are "pro-immigrant" and, again, prefer quality over quantity. This does not make them racists* (p.113). Perhaps not, but if quality means Europeans and quantity means Haitians or Guatemalans, and it might in our Newt-ered society, then that statement needs rethinking.

I was also somewhat disturbed by the list of deterrents to illegal immigration "worth considering" (p.118), among them proof of citizenship as a condition for entering into contracts or obtaining professional licensure. These are not as severe as Proposition 187, but they're within spittin' distance.

Does *How Many Americans*? successfully avoid controversy? Not really. For example, the book explicitly states that immigration is particularly harmful to inner city Blacks, since they are outcompeted for jobs by immigrants more than happy to work long hours for extremely low wages. The powder keg that became the L.A. riots had its roots here, according to Bouvier and Grant.** Yet, David Cone, writing in *The Nation* (Oct. 17, 1994) asserts that immigrants actually create more jobs than they take — some 78,000 in Los Angeles County between 1970 and 1980. Whether the authors or Cone are correct is obviously important but is of little consequence in the overall debate, because there is so much more verification of the effects of immigration on population levels that one is left with little choice but to accept that we cannot correct our course without immigration reform.

The book's few other distractions are due largely to its brevity. Thus, there is a reliance on broad generalizations in place of fully supported assertions. Some parts, e.g., sections on multiculturalism and national identity (p. 146), are weak and oversimplified. Since the book is a call to arms, it would have benefitted from a chapter on how to convince business leaders and politicians that the issue of population transcends all other environmental issues. But perhaps that's what the entire book is for. Send a copy to your legislators. Better yet, get a copy into the hands of your chamber of commerce, city and county councils, planning commissions; send a copy to your children's teachers and to their school library.

One wonders about the extent to which this book's message will be ignored in this Age of Newt. With our hearts, minds, and souls we should strive to reduce or stabilize our population by combining reduced immigration and fertility with changes in our consumption-intensive, profligate lifestyle. Instead, the government likely will now promote unfettered consumerism and kamikaze economic growth with renewed vigor, and cultivate population growth through a proposed $500 tax credit per child.

Whatever the future, the authors have given their best effort here. They have avoided a pedantic approach to the subject of the carrying capacity of the United States (the title notwithstanding) and have substituted a very effective, short readable, factually correct, straightforward analysis without a political agenda. I hope it finds its "new" audience. ■

** [*Editor's note: And also according to Jack Miles. See his "Blacks vs Browns"* The Atlantic Monthly, *October 1992, pp.41ff.*]

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Herbert Rubenstein practices law in Washington, D.C.

Liberty and Equality in Conflict

Book Review by Herbert Rubenstein

One day after telling a colleague that no review could do *The Bell Curve* justice, I was asked to write a review of the book. Certainly in the short space provided for this review I cannot summarize all that the book has to say. In fact, I cannot even begin to discuss some of the comments made by eminent statisticians, economists and other social scientists who argue that some of the statistical methods employed by the authors are seriously flawed.**

The reader of this review should know that I used to work for Charlie Murray from 1977-1980 at the American Institutes for Research. Although I hope my personal knowledge of Dr. Murray has not affected my reading of and writing about his book, I do want to inform the reader that I found Dr. Murray to be a straight shooter, a man with the ability to think and write clearly and a person who is committed to creating a better America.

THE BELL CURVE
By Richard J. Herrnstein
and Charles Murray
New York: The Free Press, 1994
845 pages, $30.00

Dr. Murray often put important items in appendices and this book is no exception. The appendix, "Statistics for People Who Are Sure They Can't Learn Statistics," is most useful and not very controversial. Other matters covered in the appendices include discussions of measuring test bias, the history of affirmative action, and the detailed statistical analysis relied upon in the book.

The Bell Curve provides a somewhat nostalgic tour of American history citing the basic philosophy "that the original American conceptions of human equality and the pursuit of happiness still offer the wisest guidance for thinking about how to run today's America." (p. 535) Yet this is a book designed to show that in one sense, in *intelligence*, as measured by standard I.Q. tests, SAT and AFQT (Armed Forces Qualifications Tests) tests (which may not measure intelligence very well, if at all) and other measures, Americans are quite different from each other and those differences vary by race, by ethnic origin and by socio-economic status. *The Bell Curve* is first and foremost a review of the literature of the determinants of intelligence, concluding that about 60 percent of one's IQ is genetic (inherited) and about 40 percent is the product of one's environment. The book reviews hundreds of studies that measure IQ and concludes that in general these tests and SAT tests are not culturally biased against ethnic minorities.

Having documented that IQ levels are higher, on average, for whites than blacks, and are higher yet for East Asians and certain groups of European Jews, the book takes a hard look at the question of affirmative action. A basic premise of the book is: America needs to nurture the gifted, those with high IQs, because it is from this group that our society will find its leaders. From this premise the authors call for greater spending on gifted children in public schools and go even further in calling for alternative forms of serving gifted children through the use of vouchers and other government support for gifted children so they may attend private school at government expense. In a direct assault on affirmative action as it is now practiced, the book assails public policy that sets targets for the number of minorities to be enrolled in the best universities. The case is made that the large disparity of SAT scores between non-minorities and minorities indicates that minorities are overrepresented in these schools and that more qualified non-minorities are being denied positions in these universities. The book suggests that we need to take a hard look at who should get an advantage and how much, how to modify affirmative action policies in the future to narrow the advantages, to end target numbers for minority groups in schools and employment situations, and how to focus on economic disadvantage over race as a criterion for affirmative action.

A central theme of the book is that in 1994 America is more segregated by IQ levels and more stratified by income and IQ levels than it was 50

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Herrnstein and Murray on Immigration

Mounting evidence indicates that demographic trends are exerting downward pressures on the distribution of cognitive ability in the United States and that the pressures are strong enough to have social consequences. (p.342)

Legal immigration in the 1980s contributed 29 percent of the United States' net population increase, much more than at any earlier period in the postwar era. If illegal immigration could be included, the figure would be significantly higher... Whereas policy can have only long-term effects on the cognitive distribution of births, it can have large immediate effects on the nature of the immigrant population. There are few, if any, other domains where public policy could so directly mold the cognitive shape of things to come. Meanwhile, the nation's political ground rules have yet to accept that the intelligence of immigrants is a legitimate topic for policy makers to think about. (pp.358-359)

The basic statement is that about 57 percent of legal immigrants in the 1980s came from ethnic groups that have scores significantly below the white average, and in consequence the IQ mean for all immigrants is likely to be below 100... [T]he kernel of evidence that must also be acknowledged is that Latino and black immigrants are, at least in the short run, putting some downward pressure on the distribution of intelligence. (p.359)

It makes sense for low-ability people to emigrate when they can reasonably think that the United States not only pays better for the same work but protects them against poor labor market outcomes (in comparison with their birth country) with welfare payments and other entitlements. In other words, the United States may be expected to draw...and will draw low-ability workers from countries that have less extensive welfare states and higher income inequality (such as the poorer countries of the Third World). (p.362)

In the 1960s and 1970s, America became much more of a welfare state. Consistent with that, the earnings potential of the Latino immigrant group fell substantially from 1955 through 1980. Among the non-European countries, three of the four steepest declines in earnings potential were among immigrant groups from Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico, all large contributors to the Latin American immigrant population... The 1980 Mexican wave of immigrants had an earnings potential about 15 percent lower than the wave that arrived in 1955. For the Dominican Republic and Colombia, the earnings potential of the 1980 wave was more than 30 percent lower than those who came in 1955, a decline that remains *after* holding education, marital status, age, and location constant.

Similarly, the success of the early waves of West Indian blacks seems unlikely to repeat itself. (pp.362-363)

Putting the pieces together—higher fertility and a faster generational cycle among the less intelligent and an immigrant population that is probably somewhat below the native-born average—the case is strong that something worth worrying about is happening to the cognitive capital of the country. (p.364)

The other demographic factor we discussed...was immigration and the evidence that recent waves of immigrants are, on the average, less successful and probably less able, than earlier waves. There is no reason to assume that the hazards associated with low cognitive ability in America are somehow circumvented by having been born abroad or having parents or grandparents who were. An immigrant population with low cognitive ability will—again, on the average—have trouble not only in finding good work but have trouble in school, at home, and with the law.

But we believe that the main purpose of immigration law should be to serve America's interests. It should be among the goals of public policy to shift the flow of immigrants away from those admitted under the nepotistic rules (which broadly encourage the reunification of relatives) and toward those admitted under competency rules... Perhaps our central thought about immigration is that present policy assumes an indifference to the individual characteristics of immigrants that no society can indefinitely maintain without danger. (p.549)

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years ago. Fifty years ago only a small percentage of students went to college leaving many "smart" (high IQ) people to work, reside, socialize and participate in close proximity to others who were not so smart. Now, almost all of the "smart" people go to college, (and the smartest go to the very best schools) and smart people marry smart people (called "assortive mating"). In addition, smart people are not only making more money than not-so-smart people, but the extent of the disparity has been growing rapidly over the past 15 years. The authors document a tremendous growth in what they call the "high IQ professions" of medicine, law, high tech and computerized occupations, engineers, scientists, accountants, architects, mathematicians, chemists and college teachers. And to make the stratification more complete, smart people are moving (if they have not already moved) out of the geographic areas inhabited by people with lower average IQs. Herrnstein and Murray state that this stratification is hurting America. Areas where people live need a critical mass of "smart" people and many areas of America no longer have such a mass. These areas are becoming unlivable and ungovernable. The authors fear that, unlike earlier times, the smart and the wealthy will soon turn their backs on these areas with disastrous consequences for us all.

The book is not only a review of studies that focus on the determinants and distribution of IQ among the populace, it is also a social commentary which claims to give America prescriptions for addressing some of its social problems. For example, after stating that "having a baby without a husband is a dumb thing to do. Going on welfare is an even dumber thing to do, if you can possibly avoid it." (p. 200), the authors present several suggestions to address the growing problem of illegitimacy. To reduce illegitimacy, the authors suggest stopping all welfare payments for children born out of wedlock, stopping all government efforts to collect child support from the father for an illegitimate child, and ending court-enforced parental rights such as visitation and other rights of the illegitimate child's father. The authors state that these measures will help restore the value of marriage — a value that has declined over the past 30 years. The book also suggests that if the mother or extended family or neighborhood can not or will not provide an adequate home for the child, the government should promote adoption (by making it simpler) and consider expanding the use of orphanages. Though the authors do not discuss the potential cost of this proposal, to this author it seems likely to be astronomical.

Herrnstein and Murray estimate that demographic changes, including high fertility levels among low IQ persons as compared to high IQ persons, plus immigration (where it is generally considered that immigrants have lower IQs than non-immigrants), are causing a 1-2 point decline in average IQ per generation. *The Bell Curve* suggests that immigration policy be changed to focus more on criteria based on competency. Canada has recently made this major policy shift. In the area of birth control, the authors suggest that the government stop subsidizing childbirth (through welfare) and make birth control mechanisms more available to reduce fertility.

"The egalitarian ideal of contemporary political theory underestimates the importance of the differences that separate human beings."

The book documents how crime, illegitimacy, long-term welfare dependency, long-term unemployment, poverty, divorce, child abuse and neglect and other social problems are concentrated among that part of the population in the lowest quartile of IQ. In response to this finding, the authors suggest that all government programs dealing with these problems take into account that the people to whom the programs are addressed represent a population group that is difficult to teach and whose behavior is especially difficult to change. Thus, the authors call for less "federal" programming and more local, tailor-made solutions to these problems.

The book's prescriptions for America are as simple as its basic theme. First, the authors call for government to simplify its tax system, its programs, its regulations and its role in each individual's life. They propose simple, quick punishment for crime (without suggesting how to accomplish this goal), allowing employers to use IQ and other simple, standardized tests for selecting employees and easing affirmative action requirements — which in the authors' eyes promote economic inefficiency.

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The authors state that raising IQ (also referred to as "cognitive ability") "is not easy." Promising studies are cited showing that improved nutrition and intensive programs of education in a child's early years can help raise IQ. Also, improvement in a child's home environment may have some potential for raising IQ. However, the schools should not be expected to be able to raise the average level of IQ significantly. The authors acknowledge that when we attempt to improve our schools by spending more on the gifted, this will have the effect of raising IQ most among the most gifted and thus creating even greater "inequality." But the authors suggest that greater inequality is a small price (or even no price at all) to pay for supporting policies that recreate and reinvigorate the classical, Aristotelian concept of the "educated person" upon whom the authors rely for our future leadership. Calling for a return to a meritocracy, if not a "natural aristocracy" as supported by Thomas Jefferson, the authors state "The egalitarian ideal of contemporary political theory underestimates the importance of the differences that separate human beings" (p. 532). Herrnstein and Murray contend that governmental efforts to create and enforce "equality" between individuals and among races have placed the federal government in America not only at odds with history, but also in direct opposition to the concepts of freedom and individualism that made this country great. In the place of "greater equality" the authors suggest that the role of government should be to allow each person to achieve dignity and a valued place in society. How to do this? — by restoring local leadership and promoting neighborhood and citizen involvement in solving social problems. People of all IQ levels can be part of the solution. It is certainly beyond the scope of the book for the authors to suggest in detail how to accomplish this. However, a new, central theme in American politics is touched upon by the book — this traditional local approach to solving problems, which is certainly gaining momentum quickly.

Finally, the authors lament that cognitive partitioning or stratification will continue and even increase in the future. The authors raise a concern that the affluent and the cognitive elite will join forces and support more strict policing to stop crime, which may foster increased racism. They fear that the future of America can be described as a "custodial state" or Indian reservation type of social structure where, in many areas, the government provides more and more for the underclass causing them to become less and less able to meet their own needs. All this will occur as higher IQ, affluent individuals retreat to the suburbs and look less to government to assist with any needs.

"The authors ... point out the inherent problems and predictable failures caused by government efforts to promote economic equality."

The Bell Curve is an important book whether or not one agrees with its statistical methodologies or its policy conclusions. The book provides important suggestions for dealing with the "inequality" in America after 30 years of government efforts to promote equality. The authors hold a revered place for "political equality" as called for in the Constitution, but point out the inherent problems and predictable failures caused by governmental efforts to promote economic equality. Although the authors' suggestions for dealing with inequality may not be the only viable ones, they have provided thoughtful approaches for dealing with the inequality that does exist in America, whether measured by IQ, by income, socio-economic status, or whatever yardstick one chooses. By any measure, we must agree that Americans are not a line or a point on a graph; we are a bell curve and we must learn how to deal more effectively and more efficiently with this equation if America is to begin to solve the malaise the inhabitants of this country are now feeling and to which the voters are now responding. ■

** *The authors have been criticized for several methodological failings. First, they use SAT tests and other tests such as the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT) as indicators or measures of IQ when these tests may not be accurately measuring IQ at all. Second, they are criticized for using cross-section data in some instances to generate conclusions about changes over time that can only be supported through the proper use of longitudinal data. Even if these criticisms are true, the book is of extreme importance in the future public policy debate since many of the policy positions taken by the authors are independent of the statistical methodologies used in the book.*

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John Rohe is an attorney with an avocational interest in immigration law.

Harvesting Another's Crop?

By John Rohe

Non-profit charitable, community, educational and athletic projects for youth exact a big investment of time, talent, capital and determination. The cost of the investment is relative to the wealth of the donor.

According to Lester Brown's *Full House* (Worldwatch Institute, 1994), 70 percent of family disposable income in poorer nations goes for essential food items. The relative sacrifice required to develop educational and athletic programs in the Third World is far greater than in ours.

As a Peace Corps Volunteer in the Philippines 23 years ago, this writer recalls with pain a community's efforts to provide a swimming pool for their children. The adults worked in the rice paddies from dawn to dusk, and weekends were not set aside for leisure or rejuvenation. It was hard for them to take on the swimming pool project. Nevertheless, initial obstacles were overcome and construction began. But the cost became too great and the project was abandoned before completion. What was to have been a swimming pool ended up a rain-fed cesspool.

Providing education carries the same burdens and risks in the Third World. Notwithstanding the challenges, efforts have been made. Exceptional and recognized talents have emerged, but not without a substantial investment from their community.

Do we appreciate the effort and respect the commitment? Do we support Third World communities' aspirations? Do we help them reap the benefits of their investment? Do we encourage the talented to serve their fellow citizens?

Well, not really.

Visas for immigrants and non-immigrants are available for those of "exceptional ability," high educational status and prominent reputation. Our federal immigration laws specifically lure persons of "extraordinary ability" in the sciences, arts, education or athletics. The legislation also attracts outstanding professors and professionals holding advanced degrees. In other words, our immigration laws encourage us to harvest the best of the rest. Meanwhile, we watch the nightly news and continue to wonder why these countries can't seem to lift themselves up by their bootstraps.

Scanning Recent Legal Developments

Some developments in immigration law include:

- Seven Romanian stowaways have sued the INS for allegedly providing an incompetent interpreter. A federal judge has, accordingly, blocked the deportation of the Romanians.
- Under a new 1994 federal law, an illegal immigrant entering with false documents is no longer required to return to a home country before applying for legal status. Under the accommodating new procedures an illegal immigrant can just apply for a green card, citing family or employment circumstances, without first returning home.
- Five Filipino security guards have settled claims against the U.S. General Service Administration and their employer for $87,500. The claims alleged discrimination based on race and national origin under the Equal Protection and Due Process clauses of the U.S. Constitution. The Filipinos were employed as security guards by American Mutual Protective Bureau, and assigned to the U.S. Treasury Department. GSA had requested the guards be replaced by others speaking "better English." The case was settled before any depositions were taken.
- A Disneyland spokesman denied knowingly employing undocumented workers, yet the INS investigation disclosed 1,156 violations in Disneyland's employee records. Disneyland has agreed to pay $260,000 to the INS.
- The Clinton administration will now be enforcing a law denying housing assistance to illegal immigrants. HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros claims the decision to withhold housing assistance from undocumented aliens was long overdue. On the other hand, the Latino advocates in Washington, D.C. claim HUD's action is "part of a trend to penalize immigrants as a whole." ■

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Jack Parsons was Deputy Director of, and now in retirement is Visiting Lecturer at, the Sir David Owen Population Center, University of Wales at Cardiff. He has written over 100 publications on population issues, including migration, and is currently completing a book on population competition.

An Introduction to "CO-ORD"

By Jack Parsons

CO-ORD collects in an accessible form some of the key studies and ideas from the existing wealth of material available on the problems of managing societies containing conflicting elements.

CO-ORD arose from a suggestion by this author at the 17th U.S. Writer's Workshop on immigration problems, held in Washington, D.C., October 21, 1993. It seemed that, though the contributions were interesting and valuable, there is a lot of basic sociology, social psychology, anthropology, etc. (by such authors as Durkheim, Talcott Parsons, Merton, and Blalock) that — though very relevant to our work — tended not to be brought into play. We thought it useful to put some of this material together and make it more readily available to members of the Workshop and other researchers and/or activists.

Funding was secured and a young research assistant, Justin Savage — newly graduated in psychology from Cardiff University — spent three months winnowing through my library and research notes for concepts, references, and quotations. We hoped to expand into Cardiff University's library and databases but there proved to be little time for this.

As Mr. Savage is good with computers we put the material into a database, for which the new WordPerfect "Works" package was chosen. This operates in IBM PC format for DOS, and CO-ORD users can customize and expand it. Additions, corrections, etc, could be shared between colleagues and/or centrally collected and farmed out to subscribers.

Of course this task could never be "complete" in the full sense of the term. There is a vast and rapidly expanding literature and all we could achieve in the time available was a reasonable coverage of some of the basic readily available material.

Basic Postulates

1) Societies are goal-seeking systems which must somehow be kept functional and continuously be guided toward the realization of their more or less agreed aims and values. This is the fundamental and inescapable process of social control, or coordination. (Hence, the name: CO-ORD.)

2) There must be at least a minimum amount of homogeneity and consensus on both the goals of the system and the means of attaining them, otherwise it cannot be controlled and must disintegrate. In the light of mass-colonization by people of different racial, cultural, linguistic, and ethnic identities, the main focal points were the two opposed concepts: sociocultural homogeneity and heterogeneity.

3) On the question of social homogeneity/heterogeneity *vis-a-vis* the social control process, only two hypotheses are possible:

a) *No* homogeneity whatever is required to permit a society or other social system's social control process to function adequately.

b) *Some* homogeneity is required for the purpose.

If (a) is an absurdity and can therefore be ignored, then (b) must be valid and this raises four basic questions:

1) How *much* homogeneity is needed for a social system to function adequately?

2) What *kind(s)* of homogeneity can help with this purpose?

3) How can the requisite kinds and amounts of homogeneity be *identified* and *quantified*?

4) How can these be made *acceptable*, put into *effect*, and *maintained* or suitably *modified* into the indefinite *future*?

Possible Solutions

No amount of academic evidence or analysis can ever provide final solutions to these weighty problems. Solutions must somehow be created and

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maintained by the sociopolitical control system of each and every society if it is not to lose its identity, be taken over, or even disintegrate entirely. This is a "tracking" task which, as long as the group exists, can never end.

The best that would-be "opinion-formers" can do (with the aid of evidence and theorizing) is to draw attention to key facts, give pointers, criticism, and encouragement to those in power and as many as possible of those who put and keep them there. A cooperatively tended CO-ORD might turn into a useful tool for these purposes.

Part of a Typical Entry

There are about 650 entries in Version 1. Here is a fairly typical excerpt:

"Concept; adaptation. Main discipline; sociology.

Merton, R.K. (1967) Social Theory and Structure. New York: The Free Press. p.139ff. (JP)
Merton considers five modes of adaptation.

1. Conformity.
2. Innovation.
3. Ritualism.
4. Retreatism.
5. Rebellion.

p.141. "I. CONFORMITY

To the extent that a society is stable, adaptation type I — conformity to both cultural goals and institutional means — is the most common and widely diffused. Were this not so, the stability and continuity of the society could not be maintained. The mesh of expectancies constituting every social order is sustained by the modal behavior of its members representing conformity to the established, though perhaps secularly changing, cultural patterns. It is, in fact, only because behavior is typically oriented toward the basic values of the society that we may speak of a human aggregate as comprising a society. Unless there is a deposit of values shared by interacting individuals, there exist social relations — if the disorderly interactions may be so called — but no society." [Continues...]

Access to CO-ORD

Inquiries may be sent to Dr. John Tanton c/o The Social Contract Press, 316½ E. Mitchell St., Suite 4, Petoskey, MI 49770, (616)347-1171, FAX (616) 347-1185; or to Jack Parsons, Treferig Cottage Farm, Llantrisant, Mid-Glam, United Kingdom, CF7 8LQ, Phone/FAX 0443-222294. ■

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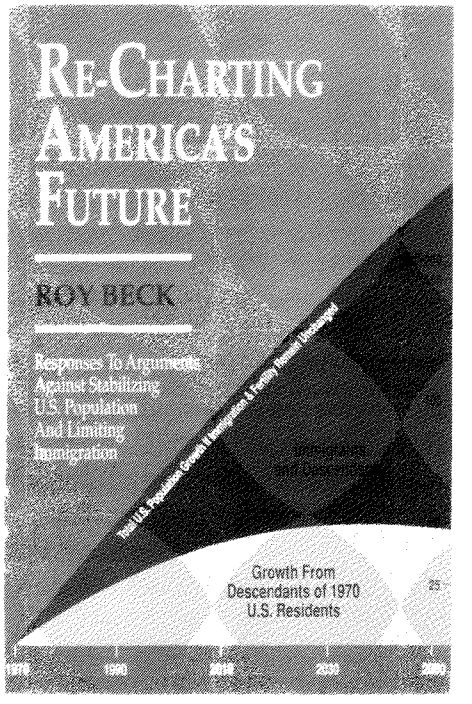
— SuSu Levy, President
Foundation for Optimal Planetary Survival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Matthew Connelly and Paul Kennedy, *The Atlantic Monthly*, December 1994

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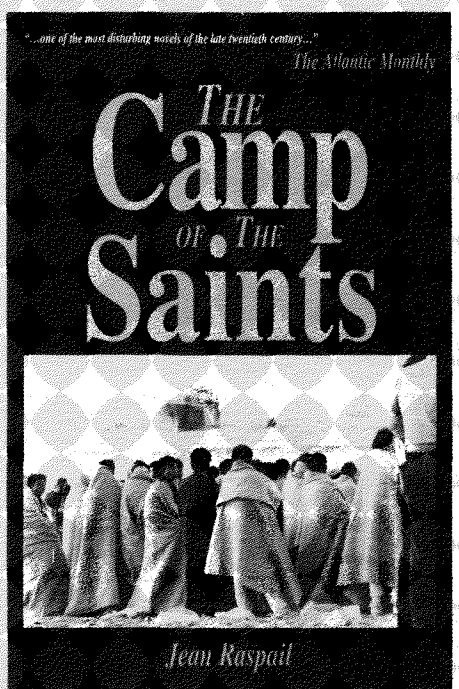
Leslie Sowers
The Houston Post

"This fascinating novel, if widely read in this country, is sure to raise both hackles and questions.... The major part of the book concerns the reactions of the Western opinion makers who hail the immigrants as the hope of mankind, until they realize, too late, that the landing of the millions means the end of European civilization."

James J. Devaney
The Hartford Courant



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